The Outlook

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The Outlook

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The Week in Congress

In the Senate, as Senator Dietrich, of Nebraska, observed last week, everything has remained "in statu Quay." The Pennsylvania Senator's Statehood Bill holds the right of way, and practically nothing else can get a hearing. A majority of the Senate will plainly vote for the bill if it is brought to a vote, but those who are filibustering against it have in their favor the fact that many members of the majority are not strenuously enough in favor of the bill to hold a continuous session until it is passed. A continuous session is a much more trying ordeal for the supporters of a bill than for its opponents—if the latter are at all numerous—for the opponents merely need to keep enough members in the Senate to prolong the debate, while the supporters must obtain a quorum to prevent adjournment. Last week Senator Quay indicated doubt about his ability to keep his measure before the Senate when the appropriation bills demand attention, by getting his bill introduced as an amendment to the agricultural appropriation bill. This policy of grafting general legislation upon appropriation bills in the form of "riders" has long and justly been condemned, and the Senate has a rule against the introduction of such "riders" if they be not germane to the bill on which they are saddled, but it has never been strict in its definition of the word "germane." The friends of an amendment seem usually to vote that it is "germane" to the bill amended, but the relations of Statehood to agriculture are admittedly remote. The Cuban treaty and the Philippine relief bills are the measures held back by the Statehood debate. The Panama Canal treaty is allowed consideration, and is likely to pass. Senator Morgan seems to be its only determined opponent, and he declares that he has no intention of filibustering against it. The Militia Bill, in the form in which it has become a law, merely provides for the uniform arming and disciplining of State troops, chiefly through appropriations from the National Treasury to pay for the arms furnished and the detailing of National officers to exercise a certain supervision over the drill. The original proposal that an army reserve of 100,000 trained men should be enrolled in the various States under the command of the President, with obligation to serve wherever ordered, was eliminated by the Republican leaders in the Senate after it had been accepted by the House. The opposition to the creation of a regular army reserve of 100,000 men was led by Senator Bacon, of Georgia, and supported with unexpected vigor by nearly all the Democrats. Under the bill as passed there is no new army reserve, and the State militia systems remain under State control, though equipped and drilled so as to fit them for effective co-operation in case of National need.

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The New Silver Complications

President Roosevelt sent to Congress last week a report of Secretary Hay inclosing and indorsing a proposal from the Mexican and Chinese Governments that the nations having Oriental dependencies should join with the independent silver-using countries in "establishing a definite relationship between their gold and silver moneys," so as to prevent further fluctuations in the rate of exchange. These fluctuations are a serious embarrassment to commerce between the gold and silver using countries, as the merchants on neither side can tell just how much they are paying or getting for the goods they buy and sell. There are no figures showing that these uncertainties have prevented foreign commerce, but the Chinese memorandum holds out to us the possibility that with a stable rate of exchange our exports to China might increase from $200,000,000 a year to $1,200,000,000! This latter total, it points out—after the manner of Colonel Sellers—would only require Americans to sell $3 worth of goods a year to every man, woman, and child in the Celestial Empire. The Mexican and Chinese memoranda both make it clear that the gold-using nations are not asked to change their own monetary systems by restoring the free coinage of silver, but merely to legislate in such a way for their Oriental dependencies that gold and silver money may be interchangeable at a definite ratio. Just how this end may be secured is not made entirely clear. It is suggested that the Philippine currency bill recently defeated in the House offers the kind of a plan desired; but this bill merely provided that Philippine silver money should be kept at a definite ratio (32 to 1) with gold money, by limiting the amount of silver coined and establishing a gold reserve to insure exchangeability. Any nation can take this action to keep its own silver money at par with gold, but no nation can guarantee that the silver money of any other nation shall be kept at par with gold, for it cannot limit the amount coined or use its reserve to keep the excessive coinage of another country from going to a discount. Such a plan could have no effect to steady the value of silver bullion, for the nations joining in it must each close their mints to the free coinage of silver and thus send the commercial value of that metal down to a still lower level. The plan of a union does not seem to us at this writing feasible, but we recognize the desirability of a fixed ratio of exchange for international commerce, and the Mexican and Chinese proposals should receive all the consideration that the importance of the end in view demands. The mere fact that these countries desire a better commercial understanding with the other nations is of great significance, and, whatever final result may come from the negotiations, their request for a mutual conference by means of a joint commission should receive a hearty welcome from the American people.

The Doblin-Lessler-Quigg Story

The tale of attempted bribery which has been recounted before a committee in Congress for about two weeks has aroused a popular suspicion of legislative methods which cannot easily be allayed. The story is briefly as follows: Among the plans for the enlargement of the navy has been a proposal that the Government should purchase a number of Holland submarine torpedo-boats. Representative Lessler, of New York, who has been an opponent of this proposal, announced to the House Committee on Naval Affairs that he had been approached by a man named Doblin with an offer of $5,000 on condition that he should support the proposed measure. This offer purported to come from Lemuel E. Quigg. When brought before the Committee Mr. Doblin confirmed this statement, and added that he had been told that there was possibly "$1,000 in it" for himself. Mr. Quigg, being thereupon called upon to testify, denied unequivocally that he had made any offer of money, but admitted that he had spoken to Mr. Lessler "on behalf of a friend" whom he wished to oblige. Mr. Doblin, summoned again before the Committee, retracted his former story, and declared that he had told it as a favor to Representative Lessler in order to substantiate the charges. In addition to this offer of money, Mr. Lessler had declared that political pressure had been brought to bear upon him by means of threats from John McCullagh, Chief of the Bureau of Elections in New York, that men who had made and could unmake Representative Lessler politically, willed that he should vote in favor of purchasing the boats. Mr. McCullagh in turn disclaims making these threats. So the matter stands, with but two points clear: that Mr. Doblin, on intimate terms with Representative Lessler, apparently considered by Mr. Quigg as fit to be recommended for political office, and a deputy under Mr. McCullagh, is clearly, no matter which statement of his may be accepted, a perjurer, and that some one else is clearly guilty either of subornation of perjury or of bribery. This is the sort of occurrence that has created in the minds of many good citizens the idea that political affairs are corrupt, political practices underhand, and politicians conscienceless.

This idea, already too prevalent, will be made only more widespread by any effort at concealment out of regard for the feelings even of men who are unjustly involved. A searching investigation is the only means by which the House of Representatives can convince honest men that it discountenances such dishonesty. The first step in this investigation should be the indictment of Mr. Doblin for perjury. Perhaps a prospect of the State's prison before him, from which he could not be delivered by political influence, might result in getting some substantiation of the true story. If not, still the country would have satisfaction in knowing that perjury does not remain unpunished even if bribery does.

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The Venezuelan Question It is to be hoped that the delay and disagreement as to the terms of a settlement between Venezuela and the allied Powers (Great Britain, Germany, and Italy) will not prevent the adoption of some plan fair and acceptable to all concerned. The new German Minister, Baron von Sternburg, has but just arrived in Washington, and is energetically striving to familiarize himself with the situation. He has already sent to his Government a full statement of his understanding of the situation. The diplomatic discussion last week turned around the point involved in President Castro's unwillingness to give Germany and Great Britain a position as preferred creditors in any arrangement reached for pledging Venezuela's customs for her debts. Not unnaturally, the allies who have by a display of force brought about the crisis think that their claims should first be satisfied, and have refused to raise the blockade until they are assured on this point. Of the other creditor nations, France has notified Venezuela that, by a convention between the two countries in 1867, France was authorized to collect customs directly in Venezuela, and renounced this right in 1885 with the express condition that interest should be paid regularly. This has not been done, and France intimates her intention to enforce her rights. The other claimant countries have shown no uneasiness. A compromise plan was suggested providing that the allies should have preference for their claims, but only for a short time. The representatives of the allies at Washington have submitted this plan to their Governments, but it has been positively rejected by those Governments.

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Present Duties in the Philippines At a mass-meeting held in Cooper Union in New York City last week to consider "Present Duties in the Philippines," Mr. Edwin M. Shepard, the intellectual leader of the Democratic party in that city, speaking upon the "Immediate Needs" of the islands, gave his cordial support to the three measures urged upon the present Congress by the President and Secretary Root. Congress, he declared, should at once reduce the taxes imposed on Philippine products sent to our markets, should at once give the islands a stable currency, and should at once appropriate the three million dollars asked for to relieve the appalling distress among the people. He said that he had not changed his attitude toward the policy which had imposed upon us our present responsibilities in the Philippines—indeed, he was strengthened in it by the results which were reported by Secretary Root—but division upon past issues or future issues should not cause division among the American people upon recommendations which offered an opportunity to awaken among the Filipinos the respect and affection which all Americans desired. Dr. Felix Adler, who followed Mr. Shepard, had for his subject "Coolie Labor," and urged with great power the close kinship between coolie labor and the slave labor which was its immediate predecessor in the West Indies, and for which it is being urged as a substitute in the East Indies. In the West Indies, he said, the coolies, deprived of freedom by their contracts, were often treated with greater cruelty than the slaves whose exhaustion meant loss to their owners, and in one little island the entire four thousand coolies imported perished in a few years from the revolting hardships to which they were subjected or from suicide, to which a large part of their number were driven. When laborers are held to service by fear of arrest and punishment, they are not free men, and the American people, who a generation ago at fearful cost suppressed slavery in this country, should not re-create it in any form in the Philippines.

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Future Issues in the Philippines President Schurman, of Cornell, the last speaker, took for his subject "American Ideals," and in his speech dealt rather with the issues of the future than the needs of the present. He said:

> There is not, I believe, a single man of them who will consent that his country should be permanently a dependency or colony of the United States. Thousands have died and hundreds of thousands are still ready to die in the cause of Philippine independence. Our war with the Filipinos has made a nation of them; they are no longer Tagalogs or Visayans or Ilocanos, but one people with a single national consciousness and a single national heart. By force the Filipinos may be worried and harassed; but force will not mitigate or destroy their unconquerable love of independence. But men ask, in incredulity, Shall we give up the Philippines? The Philippines belong to the Filipinos; we hold the islands as guardians and trustees pending the political pupilage of the Filipinos; when they set up for themselves, they will resume title to their property; and it is our duty at the earliest possible moment to grant them their independence. And shall the flag, once raised, come down again? Two years ago I saw it wave all over Cuba. But it has come down in that island—to the joy of the Cubans and the everlasting honor and glory of the United States. The American flag has always stood for liberty and national independence, and to aid the Filipinos in achieving liberty and national independence is its thrice-glorious mission in the archipelago.

President Schurman declared that the question of Philippine independence, when orderly government is established, had never yet been passed upon by the American people. Three weeks ago he had put the question to a great audience of workingmen in New York, and only four had stood for the creed that the flag must not be hauled down. A fortnight before he had put the same question to more than two thousand school-teachers in Nebraska, and only eight had stood for the doctrine that the people of the Philippines should be denied the government of their choice. He concluded his address by urging that government by force was only to be justified as a temporary measure, and that a government resting upon loyalty was the only government which could or should endure. In our judgment, it will be time enough to meet the future issues when they arise, and it is a mistake to turn public attention away from pressing and immediate obligations to future and theoretical problems. The duty of to-day is to give the Filipinos industrial relief along the lines indicated by Mr. Shepard, and to guard sedulously against any danger of slave labor or any approximation to it. When this relief has been afforded, starvation has been warded off, the Filipinos have been put upon their feet, the census has been taken, the national consciousness which Dr. Schurman rather foresees than sees has been perfected, and a legislature has been elected to give expression to it, the Filipinos will be in condition to know what they want and we shall be in better condition both to understand them and to meet their wants. We do not now think that they will then wish for absolute and formal independence; but we are very certain that the American people will not wish to hold them in unwilling subjection.

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A New Method of Defrauding the City District Attorney Jerome last week exposed an entirely new method by which the Tax Department of New York City has been defrauded. He put under arrest the Librarian of the City Library and three associates who are charged with supplying "dummies" to impersonate wealthy business men and swear off their personal taxes. The conspirators were entrapped by getting them to engage as one of their dummies a county detective, whose age and size fitted him to impersonate for them one M. B. Bryant, in order to, in his name, swear off the latter's personal assessment from $80,000 to $10,000. The detective was carefully coached by the conspirators as to the answers he should make to the questions asked him in the Tax Department. According to the charges, the system employed by the gang under arrest included a card catalogue of all New Yorkers assessed for personal taxes and several classes of dummies, who could be sent to impersonate tall and stout men, tall and thin men, short men, stout and thin, men with whiskers and men without—actors out of work being often employed to fill the rôles assigned. The wealthy taxpayers or tax-dodgers were not, as a rule, it is thought, told that some one else would swear off their taxes for them for a consideration, but merely assured that a reduction in their assessments would be secured if they paid the price asked for the service—perhaps a percentage of the amount saved them by the reduction. Nevertheless, the business men who were duped into believing that these assessments were reduced by legitimate means were probably not unwilling to be duped, and the incident brings home once more the laxity of the current commercial conscience regarding the defrauding of the public. The tax-dodgers in question were unwilling to commit perjury, for by perjury most of the personal assessments in New York may be evaded. Yet they were willing to employ shady characters to aid them by hidden means in withholding from the city a part of their legal dues. The two remedies for this state of affairs are, first, a change in the law so that property shall be taxed only where it is invested; and, second, a change in public sentiment by which attempts to reduce just assessments, whether of personalty or realty, shall be branded as attempts to cheat the whole community. It is one of the anomalies of our time that the robbing of individuals should be regarded as so much more disgraceful than the robbing of the city, the State, and the Nation to which the allegiance of every citizen is due.

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Chicago's City Ownership Bill Upon the surface of things Chicago's City Council is now as unanimous in support of city ownership of street railway lines as it was in opposition to this measure a decade ago. By a vote of 51 to 16 it has asked the Legislature to pass a bill allowing any city of the State to purchase street-car lines at any time by condemnation proceedings, and the opposition to the bill recommended seemed to come chiefly from the supporters of a measure making the popular control of the whole situation still more complete. The bill sent to the Legislature with the Council's support—the Jackson Bill—provides that the bonds issued for the purchase of the street railways must be "made payable solely out of the revenue of such street railways," and "shall in no event be or become general obligations or liabilities of the city." It is only, therefore, when, in the eyes of the investing public, city ownership of street railways bids fair to be as profitable as city ownership of waterworks that the undertaking can be entered upon. It is further required that the ordinance providing for city purchase shall specify the price to be paid and receive the assent of sixty per cent. of the voters when submitted to the citizens for their approval. Neither of these stipulations is obnoxious to the trusted leaders of the municipal ownership movement, for these men do not wish their cities—any more than they would wish their firms—to engage in a business undertaking unless there is the prospect of business success and pretty general agreement among their associates that the undertaking should be begun. The popular fear that the Council's action does not mean as great a victory for municipal ownership as it would seem to upon its surface is based upon the opposition of a majority of the Council to the supplementary measures urged by Mayor Harrison—particularly the stipulation that no franchise should be leased to a private company for more than five years without the approval of a majority of the voters, if ten per cent. of their number petition for the submission of the lease to popular vote within sixty days after it is sanctioned by the Council. Inasmuch as city ownership of street railways in Chicago is almost necessarily postponed by the fact that not all of the present franchises expire at the same time, the possibility of further aldermanic extensions of particular franchises for long periods without popular approval involves a real peril to the principle of city ownership. Alderman Jackson's claim that no Alderman "would dare to vote contrary to the wish of the people" does not carry conviction among those familiar with franchise grabs. In the judgment of The Outlook, the amendment providing for a referendum of all considerable extensions of a railway franchise should be urged on the Legislature by the citizens of Chicago.

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Primary Reform in Baltimore After years of agitation, Baltimore, Md., has at last a thoroughly good primary election system. It will receive its first practical trial at the city elections this spring, and some defects may be developed by the trial; but the general plan of the law, as outlined for us by Mr. George Stewart Brown, of the Baltimore bar, is so admirable that we do not fear any general dissatisfaction with the result. The principal features of the law are as follows:

> First, the primaries of both parties are held on the same day and in the same voting booths.
>
> Second, the ballot used is prepared by public officials, contains the names of all candidates alphabetically arranged, and is voted in secret.
>
> Third, every citizen has a right to vote in the primaries of the party with which he prefers to be affiliated, the law expressly providing "that the statement of such party affiliation does not bind him to vote for the candidates of such party at any given election."

These provisions do away with the abuses by which conscientious citizens are kept from voting in the primaries of either party and corrupt ones are permitted to vote in the primaries of both. The "floaters," as they are called, upon whom the machines of both parties count to do them service in the primary elections, have still one vote, but they have no longer two or more, as the primaries of both parties are held together under the same safeguards as a regular election; and the citizen who is unwilling to do the machine's bidding can no longer be kept away from the primaries by a requirement that he must pledge himself to vote for all its nominees, however obnoxious to his moral sense. Besides these provisions, the new Baltimore law has another introducing the principle of direct primaries for the most important officer to be chosen at any election. If delegates to conventions are chosen, the name of the candidate they are pledged to support is printed above each list of delegates. Thus in a general city election the voter can be sure what man he is voting for as Mayor, and only need intrust to the delegates the selection of the minor officials on the general ticket. The councilmanic candidates will be voted for directly in the various wards. The new law gives to the party machines the right to adopt in full the principle of direct primaries; and Western experience indicates that voters are likely in time to demand that they shall have the privilege of saying who their party's nominees shall be for all offices.

English Political Reaction

The passage of the Education Bill in its modified form has settled the matter for the moment, but it is very evident that, while advancing the interests of education on the one hand by securing unity of control, and probably greater uniformity of teaching, it has introduced a principle which so offends the English sense of justice that the bill contains in itself the germ of vigorous reaction. Liberal feeling about the measure is well expressed by an English Liberal correspondent of The Outlook of unusual intelligence in these words: "Lord Rosebery used unusually strong language in describing the political reaction in England when he received the deputation from the Free Churches which waited on him on the eve of the second reading of the Education Act in the House of Lords. 'If the country is prepared to submit to the principle enunciated in this bill,' he then said, 'you may give yourselves up to an interminable reign of the principles associated with Lords Eldon and Sidmouth. You may hope for an era of great military and naval and diplomatic supremacy abroad, but you have very little to hope for in the development of free institutions at home. You cannot limit the effect of a bill so far-reaching in its principle, or want of principle, as this. If it is to be established as a maxim that the Church of England is to have the education in the schools entirely maintained by public funds and entirely controlled by a close corporation constituted under the trust deeds of these schools—if that is to be established, and established without demur and protest, we may look forward to a great political deterioration throughout the nation at large.' Strong as this language is, it must be conceded that it is no overstatement of the case. It is necessary to go back to the dark days in nineteenth-century history, when Great Britain was so long at war with France, to find a precedent for a Parliamentary enactment which embodies more of the Bourbon Toryism of Eldon and Sidmouth than the Education Act which has just become law. Any time between 1832 and 1886 such a measure would have brought England to the verge of revolution. To-day it is acquiesced in, for really little can be hoped from the movement among Free Churchmen to make the bill unworkable by refusing to pay the taxes levied by the local bodies intrusted with the administration of the new Act. As a matter of fact, the Education Act is only one of many signs of the extraordinary reaction which has been at work since 1886. More is being made of the Crown to-day than at any period since the era of personal government; and the Tory landed aristocracy, including the House of Lords, now count for more in political life than at any time since the reign of George III. They monopolize more of the Cabinet and Ministerial offices than they have done for half a century past; and they seem able to assert their right to all these prizes as easily as they did when nearly half the members of the House of Commons were nominated by peers and larger landowners. As yet there is only one indication that a change is even in sight. The trade-unionists all over the country are quietly but very systematically preparing to return more labor members at the next general election. It is from the working classes that a turn in the tide is to be expected. The United States, however, is not unlikely to have an indirect part in checking the reaction. American industrial supremacy will in the next ten years bring new and serious problems for England; and as these will be bread-and-butter problems, the middle and working classes will at no distant day be compelled to join forces again, and assert themselves against the aristocracy as they did between the end of the French wars and the Reform Act of 1867."

The Political Position in Japan

The session of the Japanese Parliament now in progress promises to be one of the most interesting since the opening of the diet twelve years ago. The "two burning questions" to be discussed are the Government's plan for the expansion of the navy and the continuation of the land tax at its present rate for that purpose. The scheme for naval expansion contemplates the annual expenditure of about eleven and a half million yen—the approximate amount of revenue realized from the increase in the rate of the land tax—during the next ten years. The rate of the land tax was raised in 1898 for a period of five years only, from 2.5 per cent. on a low valuation to 3.3 per cent. for the purpose of carrying out the Government's undertakings following the China-Japan War. Unless further legislation is passed, therefore, the former rate will be restored at the end of next year, with a consequent diminution of the national income of the amount above mentioned. The *Seiyukwai*, or Constitutionalists, presided over by the veteran statesman Marquis Ito, control an overwhelming majority in the lower house of the Parliament. The members of the General Committee and the local branches of the party throughout the country, representing largely the agrarian interests, have announced themselves as opposed to the Government's policy of naval expansion based upon the continuance of the present rate of the land tax. A similar position is taken by the political rivals of the Constitutionalists, the *Shimpoto*, or Progressives, headed by Count Okuma. The upper house, on the other hand, is thoroughly conservative and inclined to oppose any policy that is dictated by party interests. They may thus, as a whole, be expected to oppose the Constitutionalists as a party, and Marquis Ito because of his relation to that party; and to support the Government in case the latter is assailed in the lower house on party lines. The present Cabinet, which has shown itself to be a very able working Cabinet, avowedly holds a neutral position in respect to political parties, being neither openly allied nor opposed to any of them. At the same time its leanings, if any can be discerned, are in the direction of the conservative peers rather than of the liberal commoners.

Questions at Issue

As to the questions at issue, there is a pretty general consensus of opinion that the navy must be augmented if Japan is to hold her own in Far Eastern affairs. Even with the proposed increase, the country will at the end of the period have dropped to a relatively lower place among the naval powers of the world than she now occupies. The crucial question, therefore, is whether or not the cost of the necessary expansion shall be met by the continuation of the present rate of the land tax—no other adequate source of revenue being easily discernible. The underlying question as to the ability of the people to bear longer the burden of the increased land rate is a complex one, with much to be said on both sides. At the same time it appears to be true that while the national wealth has during the last twenty years increased three or four fold, and while the farmer gets twice as much for his rice as previously, the amount of taxes has increased during the same period only about one-half. The center of interest in the situation at last reports was Marquis Ito. Although the President of the Constitutional party, he has not as yet declared his position as to the Government's policy, and there is reason to think that his party constituents may have publicly recorded their opposition to the Government's programme without his formal sanction. It is believed that his broad statesmanship must lead him to see the vital necessity of the proposed naval increase, and it is remembered that only four years ago he faced the Parliament in support of this same issue of an increased land rate. His whole public career has been that of a peacemaker. Will he be able now to find any middle ground on which the Cabinet and the upper and lower houses can unite? If so, it must be a policy stamped with patriotic devotion to the national welfare rather than to personal or party interests. It may well be, however, that the veteran statesman will feel convinced that, at the present stage of constitutional government in Japan, the road to true national welfare lies along the path of fidelity to party interests; in which case a dissolution of the Parliament may follow and an appeal to the country; or the reins of government may be voluntarily surrendered by the present Cabinet to the Marquis and his followers.

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A Japanese Leader in the Arts of Peace

Count T. Sano, father of the Red Cross Society in Japan, who died in Tokio on the 7th of December, in his eighty-first year, was one of those extraordinary products of new Japan that brighten the hopes of the world. With the usual education of the feudal gentry plus a knowledge of Dutch medicine, he saw grand opportunities when Perry made treaties in Yedo Bay and Verbeck taught in Nagasaki. Sent in 1862 by the Shogun to Holland to learn ship-building, he visited also the Paris Exposition, and there was as much impressed by the apparatus for saving life as he was with the machines for maiming and killing. At home again, he was active in "giving light and saving life" by helping to perfect the new lighthouse system. When, in 1873, the Vienna Exposition opened, Sano was the man of the hour; for in him love of art was a passion, while experience in the Occident showed him just what to collect and send. At the Austrian capital artistic Japan gave a revelation to Europe that made an epoch. While in Austria he learned thoroughly the workings of the Red Cross Society. When the bloody Satsuma rebellion of 1877 broke out, which cost Japan twenty thousand lives, Sano, with the Emperor's permission, organized the Society of Mercy. This was the beginning of the Red Cross, which now numbers over a half million members, and has resources and equipment on land and water that might shame some Western nations. Sano loved bronze images of Buddha and Quannon (goddess of mercy) as works of art; but for actual exhibition of mercy he preferred surgeons, nurses, and clean hospitals. He was the founder and chief patron of the Fine Arts Society, and the recent notable revival of outdoor statuary and natural decoration in Japan owes much of its force and value to him. He was president of both societies during many years. Foreign Envoy, Minister of Finance, Privy Counselor, decorated by many sovereigns, Sano led in the victories of peace and humanity.

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Tenement Reform in Peril

The tenement-house reform victory in the New York Legislature two years ago is in danger of being succeeded by a humiliating defeat. Governor Odell in his message called for an amendment of the present law, and, emboldened by this message, the builders of tenements, with whom a high rate of profit is the only consideration, have introduced a bill embodying a long series of most brazen demands. In the first place, they would change the definition of the term "tenement-house" so that it shall include only buildings containing more than four families, instead of buildings containing more than two families. There are now a vast number of four-family tenement-houses and the possibility of vast numbers more, and all of these buildings the proposed law would relieve from the requirements of the tenement-house act as to fireproofing and sanitary requirements of every sort. Even the new law making it perilous to conduct houses of prostitution in tenements would no longer be applicable to buildings of less than five stories. Besides the wholesale changes made by this new definition, the proposed act allows 75 per cent. instead of 70 per cent. of the lot to be built upon, allows water-closets to be erected in the "free" space, permits rooms with no windows into courts or light rooms, simply stipulates that men must be able to "see" in the inside rooms, instead of being able to "read" there, allows the public halls in the tenements to be entirely unlighted after ten o'clock, permits the renting of cellars for homes without the authorization of the Tenement Department, and in general permits in tenement-houses the lowest standard of living which sordidness on the part of either landlords or tenants would suggest. In the name of the civilization of the State as well as the health and morality of the immigrant poor, who must accept the conditions offered them, these proposed amendments should be voted down. Tenement-house construction was not blocked by the present law. On the contrary, as Commissioner De Forest reported the other day, hundreds of old tenement-houses were remodeled to conform with it, and five hundred new tenement-houses built with not a single dark room in any of them. The tenement-house owners who have obeyed the law should be protected against the competition of those who would evade its provisions. Only the worst classes of landlords or tenants demand the proposed amendments.

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Church Federation and Practical Co-operation Conditions of life in the tenement districts of the city and means for the improvement of them formed the subject of the meetings held last week by the Federation of Churches and Christian Organizations in New York City. That the churches of the city are not indifferent to the attack on tenement-house reform, mentioned in the preceding paragraph, was shown by the interest in Commissioner De Forest's address from which we have quoted. Plans for relief from congestion in these districts by means of removal to suburban regions, the establishment of substitutes for the saloon, effort for improvement in treatment of criminals in city courts, and the regulation of immigration, were some of the projects which were presented as offering opportunities of co-operative action by the churches. These meetings, interesting as they were for the very human and real character of the addresses made, have their chief significance in their indication of the direction from which church unity is coming. No creed, no ritual, no polity, was common to all the churches represented, but simply a desire to make the Christian ideal a reality in individual and social life. Effort to emphasize agreements in forms of belief, in forms of worship, and in forms of organization, rather than disagreements, is certainly discernible among churches of to-day; but effort to unite in practical measures of making the life of humanity Christian is even more pronounced, is certainly more inclusive, and is most likely to promote that real unity without which there is little advantage in a unity that is formal.

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Railway Disasters The absolute dependence of the safety and lives of railway passengers upon sureness of eye and brain in railway employees was strikingly illustrated by two terrible disasters last week—one on the Central Railroad of New Jersey, just beyond Westfield, the other on the Southern Pacific, not far from Tucson, Arizona. In each collision a score of lives were lost, and in each case the direct cause was the criminal carelessness of a railway employee; in Arizona a station agent neglected to deliver orders to an engineer, with the result that two trains met going at speed in opposite directions; in New Jersey the engineer of a fast express passed several cautionary signals and one peremptory signal, and paid the penalty of his mistake with his life when his engine crashed into the rear of another train which had been stopped by a hot box. It is not enough, however, when we read the pitiful and heartrending accounts of the suffering that followed the collision, to say that human error is inevitable; we may properly ask whether this very element of fallibility has been guarded against up to the possible limit. In the Westfield collision, for instance, the railroad has an excellent block system, the signals were properly set, an extra precaution had been taken by telegraphing a special stop order, which either was not signaled or was not noticed by the engineer—probably the latter; in short, the engineer, Davis, was plainly and flagrantly to blame. Yet the circumstances show that, with all the rules observed, the margin of safety for fast expresses on that road is a very slender one. The engineer was alone in the cab, the fireman ten feet away from the cab, and not where he could communicate with the engineer; the latter suddenly found the injector out of order, turned to fix it, and in two minutes the engine, rushing on at a speed of perhaps seventy miles an hour, had covered more than two miles, passed several signals, and was close upon the preceding train. Ought not there to be a law to require more than one man to be in the cab of an express train? An attack of illness, an accident, any one of a dozen causes, may at any moment incapacitate an engineer; and in the new type of locomotive in use on the Central of New Jersey the fireman is most of the time where he can be of no assistance. Again, it is asserted that Davis declared before his death that it was the general custom of engineers to run past the green cautionary signal and up to the red stop signal without slacking speed, in the belief that the stop signal would change by the time it was reached; that he relied on the track being kept clear for the express, as was usually done; and that no fast express could make time if the engineer obeyed the rules strictly. All these things may be false, but the public has a right to know how closely railway companies are enforcing their own rules; to know if it is true that an engineer is impelled to risk his own life and those of his passengers in order to make time, and that he can take such a risk without being punished (to pass a red block-signal light knowingly is a penal offense), whereas a failure to make time injures him. If these things are so, then any block system that can be devised is worthless, and the wonder is, not that calamities take place, but that so few are recorded. There should be a constant inspection of the actual working of railroads by State officials acting for the public safety and with power to prosecute individual offenders.

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The International Institute for Girls in Spain The Outlook wishes to call attention to the notable work which has been accomplished for Spanish girls and women by Mr. and Mrs. Gulick, whose thirty years' residence in Spain has gained for them the confidence of all classes. The American corporation controlling the work, having as President Dr. S. B. Capen, of Boston, and as Treasurer Mr. E. H. Baker, of Greenwich, Conn., has now bought an acre and a half of land in the finest part of Madrid, upon which buildings are to be erected. An appeal is being made for funds, and the cause should receive a support in this country rivaling that given by England in supporting Lord Kitchener's project for Gordon College in the Sudan. The late Mrs. Alice Freeman Palmer, who had intimate knowledge of the American Institute, declared that it should be moved to Madrid as soon as possible, for only there could its influence be most widely felt throughout Spain. It has been located at San Sebastian. The Institute first prepared students to be teachers in primary and secondary schools; and more than forty of its graduates have been employed as teachers in the principal cities of Spain. While Spanish law allows both girls and boys to enter all national institutions, few girls had made use of this privilege up to 1890. In that year Mr. and Mrs. Gulick decided to present students for the examinations of the State Institute, thus bringing them into line with the State system of education. Fourteen girls presented themselves and successfully passed the examinations, some even receiving the mark of "Sobre Saliente," the highest mark given. The next year forty-one girls were examined, and thirty-three came up to the same high standard. In 1893, at the Chicago Fair, the exhibit of the International Institute gained a diploma and medal. In 1894, for the first time in the history of Spain, girls taught by women received the degree of Bachelor of Arts—a class of four from the International Institute. The B.A. degree entitles a student in Spain to enter a university without further examination; and in 1895 two of the students matriculated in the University of Madrid, and in 1897 were graduated with the highest rank. Only the most favorable reports come from the graduates scattered over Spain. Three thousand children are now under their instruction, and the Institute is recognized everywhere as filling a need in the educational world; indeed, each year more teachers are asked for than can be supplied and more pupils apply for entrance than can be accommodated. It would seem that the time has come to establish a Protestant college along American lines in Spain. This ideal should appeal to those of our countrymen—and there are many—who believe that America's duty to Spain did not end with the Spanish-American war.

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The Fight for Honesty

The "Fight for a City," of which Mr. Hodder tells our readers, and "Holding Up a State," of which George Kennan tells them, are both parts of that great battle between righteousness and wrong, truth and falsehood, purity and corruption, justice and tyranny, which constitute the true history of the world from the earliest ages, and will continue to constitute history until what Dr. Mulford has well called "The Republic of God" is established on the earth.

Mr. Jerome, in his first public speech before a mixed audience, as reported by Mr. Hodder in The Outlook for January 24, 1903 (page 204), well said: "Issues mean that there is something upon which honest men may honestly differ. I have never known any one to take issue on the Commandment, Thou shalt not steal." That is true; and yet it is also true that there was no other issue in Minneapolis when the Grand Jury of Minneapolis presented to the people of that city the question whether their Mayor should be allowed to remain in the Mayor's chair; no other issue in St. Louis when Mr. Folk began his proceedings against the St. Louis boodlers; no other in New York when Mr. Jerome began the indictment proceedings before the public of the Tammany blackmailers; and there is no other issue now pending in the State of Delaware. The question, Shall we have common honesty in public officials? takes precedence of all other questions. It is to-day the most important question before the American people, and will continue to be until it is so decided by the people that no corruptionist will venture again to raise it.

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Mr. Hobson's Position

To the Editors of The Outlook:

In two recent issues of The Outlook reference has been made to a singularly erroneous report of a lecture given by me under the title "The Charity of Millionaires," which procured too wide a publication for me to be able to correct it.

In that report an offensive paragraph relating to Mr. Carnegie and Mr. Rockefeller was given, not one word of which I uttered in my lecture. Nor did I argue anywhere that trustees ought to trace money offered to its sources, and refuse it if those sources were found to be tainted. I am disposed to regard such action as impracticable. The real point of my argument, entirely missed by commentators, lay in my insistence that the growing reliance upon private charity tends to sap the energy of public self-help, "pauperizing" cities and States, and preventing them from putting forth the wholesome effort of providing and supporting essentially public services out of the public funds.
JOHN A. HOBSON.

January 31, 1903.

We give as prominent a place to this correction as we gave to the original report. It apparently leaves Professor Bascom alone in his contention that trustees of benevolent institutions are to sit in judgment on the moral character of the transactions by which the money has been made which is offered to them for public uses. Mr. Hobson's contention is of a very different character, and deserves certainly careful and candid consideration. Our own response to the question which he raises follows. It may, we think, be said generally that democracy is slow to initiate great enterprises of any description, educational, philanthropic, or commercial; but it is often able to carry them on energetically after they have been initiated. Congress would not appropriate fifty millions of dollars to get an entrance into New York City for an inter-

State railway, as the Pennsylvania Railroad is ready to do; but it is quite possible that a National Commission might operate it after it was built. Neither Nation, State, county, nor town would have started the libraries to which Mr. Carnegie has given life; but now that he has given them life, States, counties, and towns will be very apt to follow the example which he has set. It is doubtful whether up to this time the State, the city, or the school district would have engrafted the kindergarten on the public school system if private enterprise had not started free kindergartens and so demonstrated their value. Privately endowed universities had to exist for many years before democracy was ready to tax itself to establish them. Now they are numerous, efficient, increasing, and well sustained. The great mass of mankind walk by sight, not by faith; therefore some one more prophetic than the mass must give them the vision of a profitable investment in actual operation before they will invest in it. It is doubtful whether it is ever wise for private wealth to do for a community what it is willing to do for itself; but in so far as private wealth devotes its energies to initiating new forms of public service which democracy has not thought of, or would not believe in until their value had been demonstrated, it will not pauperize the community; rather it will stimulate the public to larger enterprises by showing their practicability and their value.

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Arrogance in the Senate

Last week, in commenting on the scandalous Senatorial elections in Delaware and Colorado and the highly unsatisfactory election of Mr. Platt in New York State, we said that these things were developing and strengthening the tendency of public opinion in favor of popular elections of United States Senators. An article in the "Century Magazine" for February, by Mr. Henry Loomis Nelson, in a very readable and graphic way points out the growth in the Senate of a belief in its own superiority to the President, the House, and the people—a belief which would be amusing if it were not pernicious. Mr. Nelson enforces his conclusions by anecdotes and stories, some of which recall one that used to be told of James Russell Lowell when he was Minister to the Court of St. James's. It is reported that great pressure was brought to bear upon Mr. Lowell to present at Court the wife of a certain United States Senator, who had every qualification of personality and character to exclude her from Court, and whose only ground for her demand was that she was a "Senatorial lady." Mr. Lowell resisted as long as he could, but finally such political pressure was brought to bear upon him that he was about to yield, when one day, in the anteroom of the embassy, he overheard this "Senatorial lady" exclaim in a high-pitched voice, "When I seen that dressmaker's bill, I just laid back and yelled." Unconsciously in this way the "Senatorial lady" strengthened Mr. Lowell's determination, and she was never presented.

This incident has no important political significance, but it does illustrate the arrogance with which some Senators, with nothing but the power of a political machine and of newly-acquired wealth behind them, attempt to dictate what shall be the standards of law, morality, intelligence, and good taste throughout the country. Unfortunately, this spirit of arrogant assumption is not confined to such Senators. Even so highly cultivated a man as Senator Hoar has recently given expression to the autocratic views which the Senate sometimes seems to entertain respecting its own dignity and authority. He has assumed on the floor of the Senate to rebuke the President for venturing to intimate to certain Senators opinions which the President entertains on questions of public policy, and the hopes which he shares with the great body of the Republican party respecting certain policies, which for their adoption and execution require the co-operation of the Senate. Nor is it alone the President whom Senator Hoar would forbid from expressing opinions on public questions to members of the Senate for the purpose of influencing their action. A few years ago he administered on the floor of the Senate a similar rebuke to the people of the United States for venturing to address letters to Senators expressing judgment on public issues and urging upon them certain specified Senatorial action. Why should the senior Senator from Massachusetts endeavor thus to draw, Wotan-like, a cordon of divine fire around the sleeping Senate, to keep its slumbers undisturbed by profane hands, now of the people, now of the President? The President is not a mere high-salaried page to run the errands to which the Senators call him, to fetch and carry when they clap their hands; nor are the people of the United States subjects of an empire ruled over by a council of Doges. In the Senate are many men of great ability and of fine personal fiber, men who have rendered eminent service to the Nation by their counsels; and among them history will award a distinguished place to Senator Hoar. But they are the servants, not the masters, of the people, and the wisest and best of them are, at least they always ought to be, glad to welcome expressions of opinion respecting the National judgment and the National will from every source.

The arrogating to itself of unquestioned authority, the resentment of counsel and criticism, which are sometimes witnessed in the Senate, grow partly out of the frailty of human nature, but more especially out of the unregulated and irresponsible power which our present method of electing Senators by legislative action tends to confer upon them. Popular elections, and the sense of personal responsibility to the people which they would involve, would act as a very healthful check upon this tendency in the Senate to become arrogant—a tendency which is not peculiarly characteristic of the United States Senator, but is apparently natural in the average man who reaches a position of great power. Modifications of our system of government must be made with caution and deliberation. They must be brought about by a process of evolution, not of revolution. But sufficient time has elapsed since the establishment of our system of Federal Government, and sufficient practical knowledge has been secured of the good effects of popular elections, to warrant a persistent demand on the part of the people for popular Senatorial elections. The demand will have to be enforced by a vigorous and intelligent public opinion, since the Senate, for membership in which so many wealthy individuals have paid such large initiation fees, will not abandon the very comfortable and superpopular position which it has so painstakingly won, without an earnest struggle to retain it.

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Mr. Hay's Diplomacy

The signing of two treaties within a week at the American Department of State calls renewed attention to the activity and efficiency which has distinguished the Department under its present head.

In 1898 the American Ambassador to England relinquished his duties there, having, in the words of one of the greatest English statesmen of our day, accomplished twice as much during two years as had any other American envoy during a longer tenure of office. Colonel John Hay left London to accept promotion to the Secretaryship of State. The American-Spanish War had just come to an end. Our relations with England were scarcely closer than they are now with Germany. Despite Manila, our title to position as a world power was not yet conceded in Europe. In China, for instance, we played a part far below England's. The settlement of various and complicated issues after the war constituted a difficult task for our State Department; but the settlement was made with credit.

In 1899 occurred the outbreak of the Boer War. To the world one principal result of that war was secured by the American State Department in persuading England to accept a general declaration that foodstuffs, though in transit to an enemy's ports, were not contraband of war unless there were evidence that the food was intended for the enemy's military use. Up to this time, as it had suited her convenience, England had ranged herself on both sides of the question. Not only were American rights upheld by this decision, but in the future the weakest country, though at war with England herself, the greatest sea power, may invoke justice by this guarantee of good faith.

In the beginning of 1900 our State Department won for the world that which England had long been trying to obtain from Russia, France, and Germany—the open door in China. Henceforth, whether territorial integrity be preserved or not, it is agreed among the Powers trading with China that Chinese ports shall remain open on equal terms to the commerce of all nations. The joint agreement of the Powers, obtained at our instance, is justly regarded by the American Government as having all the solemnity of a treaty.

Later in 1900 occurred the Boxer Rebellion in China. If it had not been for American intervention, the chief result to the world of that rebellion would have been the partitioning of the Flowery Kingdom among the Powers. As an American Secretary of State had insured Chinese commercial integrity, so now he sought to preserve territorial integrity, despite sneers from every chancellery in Europe; the Chinese Government was treated by us, during the entire period of Boxer atrocities and the following siege of Peking, as a real government. The encouraging result, not only to China, but to all civilization, was apparent as soon as the smoke of battle had cleared away. Our task was by no means accomplished, however. During the international discussion which followed, it was necessary for us to protest against and to put an end to the secret agreements which Russia was trying to impose upon a prostrate people. Following this, in disapproval of the Allies' outrageous punitive expeditions, the State Department advised the Administration to withdraw from China all United States troops, with the exception of the Legation guard. So little did supposedly intelligent European authorities understand this that the London " Spectator " actually described our course as " timid and vacillating," and the " Journal de Genève " mourned " the loss to America of her influence in the concert of the Powers." Next, though opposed by all the Allies, who were urging a policy of unwarranted delay, the American Department of State secured the evacuation of China on the terms of the original protocol. Finally, there remains to the Department the hard task of inducing tolerant treatment in the matter of the Chinese indemnity.

The Department's other notable recent efforts have been in the advancement of the cause of international arbitration, first at the Hague Congress and then before the Hague Tribunal; the ratification of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, supplanting the outworn and outgrown Clayton-Bulwer Treaty; the representation to the Rumanian Government concerning its treatment of the Jews; the negotiation of reciprocity treaties with Cuba and Newfoundland and the Panama Canal treaty with Colombia; finally, the Hay-Herbert Treaty looking towards the settlement of the Alaskan question, the last of the great points of divergence between America and England.

At the dinner of the Ohio Society in New York City the other evening, one of the speakers declared that Mr. Hay's name would stand in history alongside Webster's and Clay's, in view of services rendered to the legitimate enhancement of American power by an American Secretary of State. The steadiness with which our present Secretary has adhered to an unselfish policy, the candor, frankness, straightforwardness, above all, the scrupulous " squareness," of his methods, are in welcome contrast to the selfishness, secrecy, indirection, delay, and, wherever possible, the harshness of other methods. If America has become a world power, it is largely because of the success of the new American diplomacy, representing not so much material as ideal aims and ends. Humanity in general is freer and finer because such diplomacy exists.

The President and the South

It seems to be the nature of all moral movements to create a current in the opposite direction, and it ought not, therefore, to appear surprising that the strong movement in the South toward the education and elevation of the African race should be accompanied by a passionate protest against anything which looks toward either a recognition of the gains the negroes have already made or toward a still further enlargement of their opportunities. Nor is it out of the common that this race prejudice should disregard the plain facts of current history, for none are so blind as those who do not wish to see. Certain it is that the notion that President Roosevelt has been forcing the race issue upon the South is in curious contradiction to the actual facts. Probably no man ever went into the Presidential chair with a more sincere desire to promote harmony between the North and the South as well as between the races, and at the same time to do something really to help the blacks through rewarding those who by their lives had won the confidence of the whites, and who possessed high individual character. At the beginning of his administration the President disregarded in a measure the claims of his own party in Alabama, and appointed Judge Thomas G. Jones, a Gold Democrat of the very highest standing, to a Federal judgeship. Later he overthrew a political faction in Mississippi and appointed men of good record to office—in two cases white Democrats. Still later he recognized what was known as the sugar-planter element of Southern white Republicans in Louisiana, and thereby indirectly destroyed a disreputable faction. These are but examples of what has been done in several States, largely with the view of putting good men in office, who could command the confidence of the Southern whites. The President has refused to take the wholly untenable position that no man, however excellent his character and whatever his fitness may be, can hold Federal office if he has any African blood in his veins; but then no President since the Civil War has taken such a position. He has, however, in fact, actually nominated but one negro to office in a place or State where no negro was holding office before. On the other hand, he has probably placed more negroes in office in the Northern States than any former Republican President. In some cases in the South he has reappointed negro men of high character whom he found in office; in some cases he has displaced colored men in order to fill the place with men of better character; in some cases he has made a shift of offices—has appointed a negro to an office formerly held by a white man, and *vice versa*, as in appointing Mr. A. B. Kennedy Receiver of Public Moneys at New Orleans, and making a white man Naval Officer of the Port, a place held by negroes under every former Republican administration since General Grant's time; in another case he relieved a negro of a Southern position and took him out of the South altogether, giving him an office in the District of Columbia—reference is made to Mr. John C. Dancy, who was Collector of Customs of the Port of Wilmington, N. C., under the McKinley administration. In still another instance a negro postmaster was not reappointed, but a white man was placed in his stead—this was at Athens, Georgia.

In most of these cases the changes were made with the purpose of placing a negro of higher capabilities in office, or, when no principle was at stake, to meet, if possible, the wishes of Southern whites. The net result is that at the present time there are fewer negroes, by two, holding Presidential offices in the South than there were under President McKinley. Mr. Roosevelt has nominated for office but one negro in the South where no negro was holding office before—namely, Dr. Crum, recently appointed Collector of Customs at Charleston, S. C. The President has been most careful to seek information from Booker T. Washington and many others as to the individual character of negro candidates, and as to their standing in the Southern communities where they live. Early in his administration, before there was any thought of a vacancy in the Charleston Collectorship, the name of Dr. Crum was brought to his attention as that of a man who had the respect and confidence of both races in the South, and especially in Charleston. When the vacancy in the Charleston Collectorship occurred, the President naturally thought of Dr. Crum in connection with it, since he had placed no negro in office in South Carolina. He had no reason to suppose that there would be more opposition to Dr. Crum than was shown against Mr. Deveaux, the negro Collector at Savannah appointed by Mr. McKinley to a position paying four times the salary of the Charleston place. In refusing to recognize the "lily-white" movement in the South, which sought to keep out of party councils the few colored men who had been declared fit to exercise the franchise even by Democratic election boards, the President could not have acted otherwise than as he did, without disregarding the principles upon which the Republican party was founded and going further in disregarding the rights of the negroes than the Democrats had done.

We think ourselves warranted in saying that the President believes that the negro should give himself to the work of securing education, property, and the cultivation of high character, and that it has been and is far from the President's intention to do anything that would unduly excite the political ambition of the black man; but he also believes that the recognition of some of the worthy colored men of the country is wise and proper, and tends to encourage others to make themselves worthy and deserving of recognition. We believe that the best men in the South agree with the President in this conviction now, and more of them will agree with him as time goes on.

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Professor Ritschl on Religious Teaching

Under the title "What Service do academic Teachers of Theology render to the Church?" Professor Otto Ritschl, of the University of Bonn, utters himself in the "Christliche Welt" for December 11, 1902, concerning a certain resolution passed by the Brandenburg Synod of the Lutheran Church. The resolution expresses regret that so great a chasm exists between the scientific point of view to-day and the "sound doctrine of Holy Scripture and of the Reformation." This lack of adjustment is declared to be a source of great harm to students. The supreme authorities in the Church are urgently requested "in the selection of instructors to seek especially for such men as will, by a correct and sane use of the evangelical freedom of science, do justice to the demands of the Church." Members of theological faculties are urged to give attention "not merely to the scientific equipment of students, but also to the formation of their Christian character."

Professor Ritschl agrees that character-building should be a prime end of theological instruction. But he asks: "What, pray, shall we do to attain this end? Shall we preach to our students for their spiritual edification? It is true that religious inspiration does result from the hours spent in the lecture-room. But such inspiration is not the immediate end sought by the instructor. The professor's desk is not a pulpit. The lecture-room is not a church. The professor is not a preacher. His audience is not assembled for worship. What he offers is rather a sober, clear, unprejudiced scientific criticism. As he himself in his own free investigation has learned to see things, so he desires to teach his students to see clearly what is sacred, noble, exalted, potent, to discriminate between the kernel of truth and the husk which has gathered around it in the course of centuries."

"But what has this to do with the formation of character? I ask in reply: Is the ability to apprehend the truth a slight thing? Nay, do not ministers above all need to have their sensitiveness to truth developed, educated, strengthened? And how can this sensitiveness to truth be better secured than through unhampered scientific research, which aims to teach men to use their own eyes, to form their own convictions, and then, in the majesty of self-reliant character, to act the part of men in their later practical life?"

In conclusion, Professor Ritschl turns the tables of criticism against those who feel themselves to be guardians of the faith against scientific misuse. "Why is it," he asks, "that a constantly diminishing minority of educated men go to church? What is the cause of this breach between the thinking and feeling of the mass of people and the conventional ecclesiastical view of things? Why so widespread a depreciation of what the church offers? May we not demand of you clergymen—especially of you who boast orthodox piety—that you shall honestly ask yourselves what vital relation there is between the outward message which you proclaim with rhetorical fervor in sermon and ritual, and the capacity of your heart to create genuine religious enthusiasm? Beware how you try to reproduce the great words and emotions of spiritual heroes, and to be lavish with borrowed riches, unless you have the inward right to stand on the heights of religious experience which they reached. Stand on your own spiritual level, not on that of another. A knave always gives out more than he possesses. Beware of even the suspicion of desiring to give out more than is rightfully yours to give. Then will cease all this flippant talk about priests and priestcraft which rightly distresses you, but at which you have no right to be indignant. And, above all, beware of pietistic pathos, of clerical unction, of priestly phrase. For these are the symptoms by which men know that your inner life does not reinforce the impression which you fain would make with outward speech."

We have given large space to these extracts from Professor Ritschl's article because he appears to us to indicate two very important principles: one the secret of religious power in the teacher, the other the secret of religious power in the preacher.

I. It is often said that our public schools are godless schools because religion is not taught in them. But this is to confound religion and theology. Theology is not taught in them, but it does not follow that the spirit of religion cannot be imparted in them. The recent hot debate in England concerning the new educational bill, which puts the school system largely in the control of the Church of England, had its support in a general impression that schools could not be religious unless catechetical instruction in theology was imparted in them, and, as the Church of England is the Established Church, it was natural that the catechetical instruction in theology should be turned over to the rectors and the curates, and therefore the general charge of the schools should be committed to them. But this again is to confound religion and theology, and to suppose that religion can be imparted only by instructing pupils in theology. But, in fact, in this country the distinction between the secular and the religious, of which so much was made half a century ago, is already passing into deserved oblivion; the notion that the schools are purely secular institutions like a bank or a factory is already antiquated, though, like other antiquated notions, it lingers late in certain quarters; and we are, by a measurably unconscious process, learning to make our public schools religious without making them theological. And this we are doing, not by studying religion as though it were a department by itself, but by conducting all our studies in a religious spirit. Doubtless there is room for further improvement; but doubtless progress will be found by pursuing the direction in which improvement has already been made.

Thus, Herbert Spencer's oft-quoted saying, "Amid all the mysteries by which we are surrounded, nothing is more certain than that we are ever in the presence of an Infinite and Eternal Energy from which all things proceed," indicates the spirit in which scientific studies are increasingly pursued. It is only the superficial scholar who imagines that he is studying phenomena if he is simply gathering them together and putting them in appropriate pigeonholes. True scientific study includes an investigation into the relation of phenomena and their ultimate cause, and so into their intellectual and moral significance. True scientific study presupposes nothing, but, without presupposition, it ever seeks the cause behind the effects, the Infinite and Eternal Energy behind all its various manifestations. It is not only the undevout astronomer who is mad; every undevout scientist is, if not mad, certainly shallow. There is doubtless an irreverent and flippant agnosticism which not only affirms its ignorance of all that lies back of phenomena, but rejoices in its ignorance; but this is rarely found coupled with scientific attainment. It is the agnosticism of Robert Ingersoll, not of Spencer or Tyndall or Huxley. The teaching of science by the truly scientific teacher, the teacher who is a profound thinker as well as a keen observer, does not need to supplement his scientific teaching with a theological catechism. His teaching will itself promote the spirit of awe and reverence.

So, again, Matthew Arnold's oft-quoted saying, "There is a power not ourselves that makes for righteousness," is a necessary deduction from the study of history. For history is not a mere meaningless collocation of events and dates, which happen to succeed each other in one order but might as well have succeeded each other in some different order; so that, so far as the teacher can see, the Puritan revolution in England might have preceded the Norman conquest, or in America the abolition of slavery might have antedated the American Revolution. There is a moral order in history; each cycle prepares for the following cycle, each series of events for the series which follows. There is a development of the race as of the individual, and history is a study of this development. It is possible to learn dates and events and know nothing of history when all are learned, for this is not studying history. Studying history is tracing the orderly development of humanity toward an ever higher and better life; it is the recognition in the successive stages of what the scientists call evolution and the theologians call redemption. The teacher of history, whatever his creed, if he has any vision, any insight, any power to perceive the movement of the river as well as the bubbles and the sticks upon the surface, if he is anything more than a mere dry-as-dust encyclopædia of nearly useless information, cannot teach history without doing something to inspire in the pupils a forward look, a hopeful anticipation, and a purpose more or less clearly defined to have a share in that onward progress of the race which history makes clear to him. It is not necessary to supplement the study of history with a catechism to make it religious.

Still again, Literature is the expression of human life. Taine says that as behind the forest the student sees an animal, so behind the document he sees a man. It is this seeing of the man behind the document, this seeing of life expressed in the writing, that constitutes the study of literature. The student of the great world literatures learns not only the different dialects in which human life has expressed itself, he also discerns the unity of humanity beneath all these dialects, in all these literatures. By his study of Homer and Job and Dante and Victor Hugo and Shakespeare and Hawthorne, he learns that in Greek and Hebrew and Italian and Frenchman and Englishman and American, in ancient life and mediæval life and modern life, there is a real unity; that ambition and revenge and remorse and skepticism, that heroism and faith, and hope and love, are common to men of all races and all ages. He cannot really study literature without imbibing in the process a broader and more catholic spirit of humanity. Such a study will do much more to promote in him a recognition of human brotherhood than learning and reciting an answer to a catechetical question about the first man, as the progenitor of the whole human race.

It is not by adding a catechism to our curriculum, it is by pursuing all studies in a profoundly thoughtful spirit, the spirit that looks beneath the mere surface to the truth and life beneath, that education is to be made truly religious. This principle American educators slowly, and the American people still more slowly, are learning; and as they learn it our public-school education, as well as that of our higher institutions of learning, is becoming more religious without becoming more theological.

II. To what Professor Ritschl has said in the quotation given above respecting the secret of power in the preacher we need add but little. We repeat it only to indorse it. The preacher ought to speak with authority, as Christ spake with authority. But Christ's authority was not ecclesiastical. He had no Church behind him as his sponsor. He was not a Rabbi; he had received no theological education; the Rabbis would have none of him; "How knoweth this fellow letters," they scornfully cried, "having never learned?" They turned him out of the synagogue. The fields, the private house, the seashore, became his meeting-house. But wherever he met his congregations he spake with authority, because he had in himself the consciousness of the divine life and truth, and power to awaken the consciousness of divine life and truth in his auditors. This was the secret of his power. This was the secret of Paul's power: "We know, therefore have we spoken." If a minister has this power, the more natural, simple, genuine, human he is, the greater will be his power. The holy tone, the ministerial manner, the dogmatic assumption, not only will not in our day serve as a substitute for this spiritual authority, they will impair what little spiritual authority he may possess. The scientific spirit, of which the dogmatists and traditionalists are afraid, is this very spirit which puts truth as supreme and is ready and glad to welcome it whatever it may be, whatever it may supplant, and whithersoever it may lead. So far from threatening religion, this is the only spirit which will conserve it, because it is the very essence of true religion itself.

We sum all up in a single sentence. Religion is a spirit of life: catechisms are not the only conduit through which it can be imparted; if the teacher possesses it, he will impart it through his instruction; if a minister does not possess it, he cannot impart it; if he does possess it, the more simple and unaffected his expression of it the greater his effectiveness.

HOLDING UP A STATE

THE TRUE STORY OF ADDICKS AND DELAWARE

BY GEORGE KENNAN

I.

LAST fall, just before the biennial election of members of the Delaware Legislature, the wife of a locally well-known farmer in the southern part of Sussex County said to her husband at the breakfast-table, "Jim, how much are you going to get for your vote?"

"I don't know that I'm going to sell my vote," replied the husband.

"I can't see," she said, "why you talk like that; why shouldn't you sell it? We need the money bad enough. Other people sell theirs, and I don't see that they're thought any the worse of. You're not the first man that's done it. Look at the men who have taken Addicks's money, and see where some of them are now!"

About a week later, on election day, a German citizen of Camden, Kent County, went into the cashier's office of the Addicks Republican party in that village, presented to the cashier a small button of a peculiar form, and shortly afterward came out, bringing in his hand seventy-five dollars in crisp, new bills of the Merchants' National Bank of Boston, which he had just received for his own vote and the votes of his two sons. Holding up the money as he passed an acquaintance on the street, he said, significantly, "It would take a good many drops of sweat to make that seventy-five dollars!"

On the same day, in Milford, Kent County, a young man who had always before voted the straight Democratic ticket went into the voter's assistant booth of the Addicks Republicans. When one of his friends, William T. Morris, who happened to be the Democratic voter's assistant, looked at him reproachfully, as if to say, "I didn't think you'd go back on your party in this way," the young man replied, with a shamefaced smile, "I know you don't like to see me going in here, Will, but they've got the most money."

Six weeks later, while engaged in an investigation of the political situation in Delaware, I happened to be driving one afternoon along the sandy country road that leads from Millsboro, Sussex County, to Dagsboro. My driver, an uneducated but fairly intelligent young fellow of eighteen or twenty, seemed to be quite ready to talk to a man whom he supposed to be a commercial traveler, and I had no difficulty in getting at his views with regard to the political situation and the election.

"How did it go in your town?" I inquired; "the Union Republicans won, didn't they?"

"Oh, yes!" he replied; "the Addicks men bought up pretty much everything there was in sight. I've heard that they paid some fellows as high as thirty dollars."

"Is the selling of votes a regular thing down here?" I asked.

"Pretty regular," he said, nonchalantly; "they 'most all do it; and it ain't such a bad thing for the county, neither. There's a lot of money come in here since Addicks took a hand, and it's been a great help to the farmers."

"What do the people generally think of Addicks?"

"Well, I dunno; I guess they think he's all right—anyhow the Unions do; but from the talk I hear 'round the hotel I judge they don't really want to have him elected Senator. They'd rather keep him along on the ragged edge, because, they say, 'When he's elected, where's our money comin' from? He won't give down any more.' *I* think, though, he ought to have it. I'm a Democrat myself, but when a man spends his money like he does, I'm damned if I don't think he's entitled to it."

Such are the views and the practice of the people of southern Delaware with reference to one of the most important duties of American citizenship. The cases that I have cited are few in number, and may seem inadequate as a basis for a sweeping charge of political corruption; but they are typical as well as characteristic, and fairly illustrate the state of demoralization to which thousands of the Delaware people have come. Women urge their husbands to sell their votes because they need the money and because the act is no longer regarded as disgraceful; eight-year-old boys wish that they were grown up, so that they might get twenty dollars from Addicks; fathers sell not only their own votes but the votes of their sons who have just come of age; Democrats go into the camp of the Addicks Republicans simply because the latter have "got the most money;" and intelligent young men frankly express the opinion that the bringing in and distribution of a huge corruption fund is a good thing for the poor farmers, and that a man who buys votes enough to elect him to the Senate of the United States is fully entitled to go there, and is unjustly treated, if not actually defrauded, when kept out of the position for which he has liberally paid.

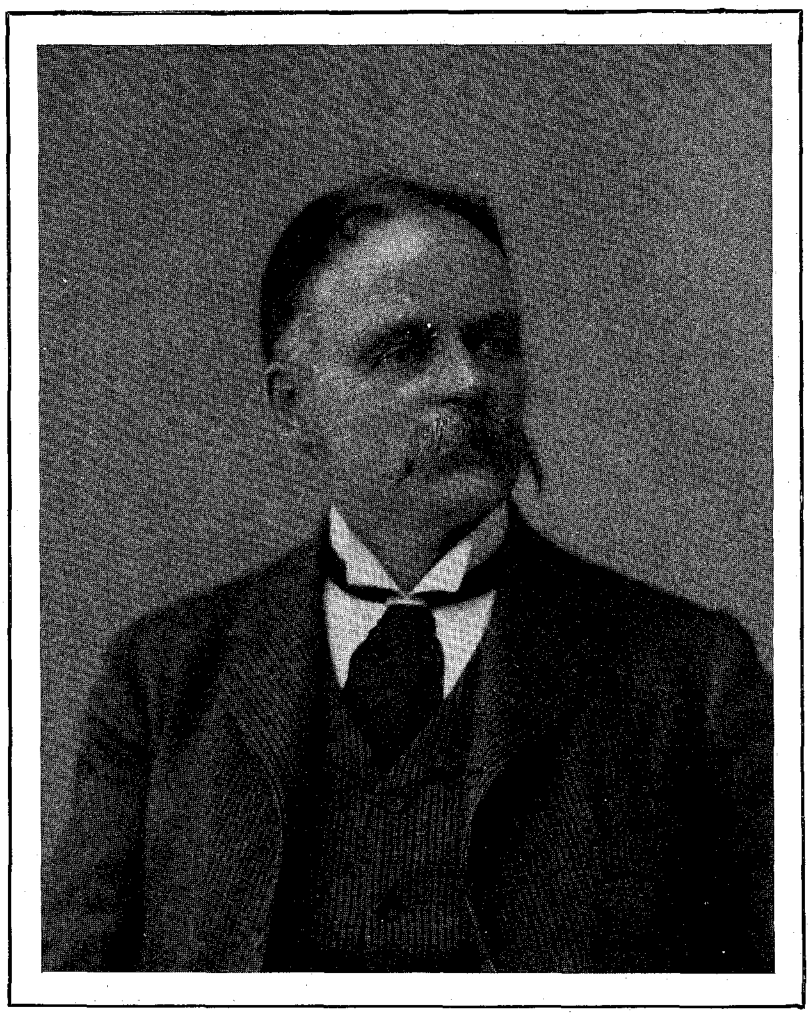
What influences have brought about the moral deterioration shown in such opinions and practices as these, and what party or person is chiefly responsible for the corruption of a population that was once honest and of good repute? It is my purpose, in this and the following articles, to answer these questions by giving the results of a study that I have recently made of Delaware politics and the working methods of certain Delaware politicians. I have no prepossession for or against any political party as such, and it is a matter of perfect indifference to me whether the Senators from Delaware be Republicans or Democrats. I have looked at the situation, therefore, in its political aspect, with absolute impartiality, and I shall try to present accurately and fairly the facts that have come to my knowledge. The only personal bias of which I am conscious is a strong inherited prejudice in favor of common honesty.

The history of political corruption in Delaware is, for the most part, the history of a single man and a single party. Other men have bought votes now and then upon a small scale, and other parties have resorted, occasionally, to tricky or dishonorable methods; but no systematic attempt was ever made to corrupt the whole population and buy up the whole State until J. Edward Addicks and the Union Republican party took the field. With a lone star for their device, and "Addicks or nobody" for their war-cry, they began a campaign of corruption which has had no parallel, I think, in the political history of the United States.

When, after the most lavish use of money, they failed to attain their ends, they proceeded to hold up the State, as a highwayman would hold up a stage; and declared that it should go unrepresented in the United States Senate until it would agree to elect Mr. Addicks to one of the vacant seats. This hold-up still continues, and seems likely to continue until the winter of 1904–5, when Mr. Addicks's lieutenants promise to end the long struggle by "wiping up the earth" with all the honest Regulars and incorruptible Democrats who may then be left. In view of the wide and general attention that the legislative deadlock in Delaware is now attracting, I shall postpone, for the present, a review of Mr. Addicks's earlier career, and devote this article (1) to a characteristic illustration of his latest working methods, and (2) to a description of the means by which he brought about, last November, the election of the Union Republican legislators who are now supporting him at Dover.

First, the attempt to make a "deal."

In the early part of last September, Dr. L. H. Ball, the present Congressman from Delaware, who happened then to be in Wilmington, was called to the telephone by an acquaintance named Lawton, who asked him if he would not go to New York that night and meet a few gentlemen who were desirous of settling the factional fight in Delaware by means of an amicable arrangement. Dr. Ball got the impression, from Lawton's telephone talk, that the New York gentlemen referred to were members of the National Republican Committee. He consented to go, met Mr. Lawton at the station, and they started. On the train Lawton virtually admitted that he had secured Dr. Ball's consent to go to New York by means of an innocent stratagem; and that the person whom they were really to meet was J. Edward Addicks. When they reached their destination, they drove to the New York Yacht Club, where Addicks had his



PHOTOGRAPH BY J. PAUL BROWN, WILMINGTON

J. EDWARD ADDICKS

headquarters, and were there received by Addicks himself, Caleb R. Layton, his Secretary of State, and J. Frank Allee, President of the Bay State Gas Company. After the exchange of conventional greetings, Mr. Layton opened the conference by making a speech, in which he referred to the great service that Mr. Addicks had rendered to the Republican party in Delaware; denounced the injustice with which he had been treated by the Regulars; and declared that even if, for the sake of harmony, Addicks should withdraw from the contest, the people of Kent and Sussex Counties would continue to support him, and would vote for him indefinitely, as a matter of honor and principle.

Dr. Ball, who was irritated by Layton's speech, as well as by the means adopted to secure his own presence at the meeting, rose to his feet and said that he had come to New York upon the representation that a conference was to be held for the purpose of putting an end to the Delaware contest. As it was perfectly evident, from Mr. Layton's remarks, that nothing could be accomplished in that direction, he did not care to waste time in further talk, and would therefore bid them good-day. As he was about to leave the room, Addicks threw one arm around him, in a half-familiar, half-affectionate way, and said, "Oh, Ball, sit down, and let's talk this thing over." Mr. Addicks then proceeded to discuss, in the most amicable manner, the political situation in Delaware, and finally said: "The fact is, Ball, you ought to go to the Senate. We haven't got a thing against you except that you have persisted in fighting us, and if you would only join us, and use your influence with the Regulars who are opposing us, it would make your political future secure. I think you ought to go to the United States Senate with me."

Dr. Ball replied that he did not care, at that time, to discuss the question of his political future, and that so far as the Regular Republican legislators were concerned, he could not influence them in favor of Mr. Addicks, even if he felt disposed to do so; because they were voting against him on principle.

Mr. Addicks then said: "I'll tell you what I'll do, Ball; there are three men in your party that I want to get. If you'll use your influence with Chandler, Pilling, and Flinn,[1] and get them, I'll have the Governor call a special session of the Legislature, and I pledge you my word that you shall go to the United States Senate with me. If you use your influence with those men in good faith, and, for any reason, fail to get them, I will still promise that you shall be renominated for Congress, as Representative, on both Republican tickets, and sent back to Washington for another term."

Dr. Ball replied that he could not control the three men named; that he would not if he could; and that he must decline to enter into any deal or agreement with Mr. Addicks that would involve the political future of either.

Addicks then became irritated in turn, and said, with emphasis: "You won't? All right! I'm going to reiterate now what I said years ago: I'm either going to be Senator, or I'll sink the Republican party in Delaware ten thousand fathoms deep!"[2]

"A man who talks in that way," rejoined Ball, hotly, "is no Republican! Such speeches, and action in accordance with such speeches, have kept you out of the United States Senate thus far, and will keep you out always." He then took his hat, left the room, and returned that night to Wilmington.

By the terms of the compromise agreement between the Union Republicans and the Regulars, made in 1900, Dr. Ball was equitably entitled to re-election as the Congressional representative from the Delaware district; but when he refused to make the deal suggested by Addicks, the latter determined to punish him for his obstinacy, and therefore put up United States District Attorney Byrne to defeat him. The result of Byrne's nomination on the Union Republican ticket was the election of a Democratic Congressman; but, as one of Mr. Addicks's lieutenants afterward said to me, "We intended to beat Ball, whatever happened; we preferred a Democrat to him." Byrne resigned the office of United States District Attorney and thus became the instrument of Addicks's vengeance, and when he had been defeated by the Democratic candidate, he was reappointed to his old place. It is not improbable that Byrne really expected to be elected; but whether he did or not, Addicks seems to have used him as a means of punishing a man against whom, as he admitted, he had nothing personally, but with whom he had failed to make a corrupt deal.

I have cited this case as a characteristic illustration of one of the many and varied methods by which Mr. Addicks endeavors to secure the help or support of men to whom he dares not offer cash. He knew that he could not buy Dr. Ball, but he thought he might tempt him with the United States Senatorship. He held the temptation in one hand and a club in the other, and when he failed to entrap he smote.

Among all the varied inducements held out by Addicks and his lieutenants to men whom they wish to "get," spot cash takes the first place; and in the election, last fall, of the legislators who are now voting for Mr. Addicks in Dover, it played a more important part, perhaps, than all other inducements combined. Before attempting to describe, however, the ways in which money was made to take the place of argument and persuasion in that campaign, I must give the Addicks workers the benefit of the explanations that they make for publication with regard to this charge of vote-buying and corruption. Such explanations may be summed up, briefly but fairly, in the reply to a question that I asked the President of an Addicks Republican club in Sussex County. He had just called my attention to the overwhelming majorities rolled up by the

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[1] Representatives William Chandler, of White Clay Creek hundred, Richard T. Pilling, of Mill Creek hundred, and William R. Flinn, of Christiana hundred.

[2] Mr. Addicks first made this declaration in a telegram to Senator Washburn, of Minnesota, shortly after the adjournment of the Delaware Legislature in May, 1895.

Union Republican candidates in the southern part of the State, and had referred to this apparent unanimity of public sentiment as a proof of Mr. Addicks's great and growing popularity. "Yes," I replied, "it does seem to show that Mr. Addicks gets hold of the people in some way; but the general understanding is that he obtains these big majorities by means of wholesale vote-buying. What about that?"

The Addicks man laid his hand on my knee; bent forward a little; looked at me for a moment with a grieved and shocked expression, and then said, with slow enunciation and impressive gravity, "Now, Mr. Kennan, this is confidential—that's what it is—confidential—between me and you and God!——It ain't so!"

The reply made by Mr. Layton, the present Secretary of State, to a similar inquiry was not so brief, and was not "confidential between me and you and God;" but it was to the same effect—"it ain't so!"

"The rural population of Kent and Sussex Counties," said Dr. Layton to me, "comes from the sturdy, self-reliant Anglo-Saxon stock. They are not ignorant, low-born foreigners—in fact, the foreign element is very small—and I doubt whether anywhere in the United States there is a population of better ancestry. They are generally industrious farmers, who do their own thinking and live by their own efforts, and the idea that such a population, with such an ancestry, is purchasable—that it can be bought up wholesale by anybody—is incredible—it is inconceivable! If the Republicans of Kent and Sussex Counties are corrupt and purchasable, there is no Republican party in the State, and no material out of which a Republican party can be made. It's true we don't play Sunday-school politics in Delaware, because we have to fight the combined corruption fund of the Democrats and the so-called Regular Republicans; and we're in the position of a man who is up against a Texan desperado armed with a six-shooter. We did put up Byrne to beat Dr. Ball, because Ball refused to recognize us and didn't secure a single appointment of any consequence from the ranks of the Union Republican party. There are less than two hundred Regulars in this county, and yet they hold all the Federal offices. The Regular Republicans have been trying to browbeat us and tyrannize over us ever since 1896; but they can't beat us. As for the Legislature, not a single member of it from these lower counties has ever been pledged to Addicks. We don't have to get pledges from our legislators—they vote for Addicks without any pledge, simply because such is the wish of ninety-nine out of every hundred of their constituents."

It is not necessary at present to comment upon Dr. Layton's assertions further than to say, first, that more than fifty per cent. of the Republican voters in Kent and Sussex Counties are "Anglo-Saxons" from the coast of Africa, whose incorruptibility is not wholly beyond question; and, second, that the statements with regard to vote-buying which he furnishes to newspaper men seem to differ widely from the admissions made by him to personal friends and associates in private conversation. In 1894 the Sussex County Republican Committee was authorized to expend $2,000 of Mr. Addicks's money in an election precinct that contained only 280 voters; and two years ago Dr. Layton told a prominent lawyer in Georgetown that up to that time Mr. Addicks, to his certain knowledge, had spent $400,000 in Delaware in campaign years alone.

Second, setting aside, for the present, the questions raised by Dr. Layton's conflicting statements, I shall try to describe what happened in the legislative campaign of 1902—that is, last fall; and I will begin with the notes of the Merchants' National Bank of Boston.

Two or three days before the November election, Mr. Addicks, or somebody acting in his interest, brought into the State of Delaware two whole series (fives and tens) of crisp, new, consecutively numbered notes of the Merchants' National Bank of Boston, and distributed them among the Union Republican workers in all the election districts of Kent and Sussex Counties. Prior to the first of November there was not a single new, unworn bill of that bank in all southern Delaware; but five days later the two lower counties were flooded with them. On the day after election, Mr. C. W. Lord, a well-known hardware merchant of Dover, took in over the counter, in the ordinary course of business, twenty-eight of these bills, all of the denomination of five dollars, and before the end of the week the First National Bank of Dover was holding nearly five thousand dollars in this particular kind of currency, all crisp, new five or ten dollar notes that had never been creased, or that had been folded only once. Although the numbers of these notes were scattering, they were so distributed as to show that two whole series had been used, and that the notes whose numbers were missing in one shop or one bank had merely been spent or deposited in another. More than a month after the election, I myself obtained in Dover a lot of ten-dollar notes of this bank, whose numbers ran from 33,414 to 34,691, showing the use of $12,770; and through the hands of a single business man in Milford there passed notes whose highest and lowest numbers indicated the distribution, on election day, of more than $20,000. A gentleman in whose sources of information I have perfect confidence informed me that not less than $30,000 in crisp, new bills of the Merchants' National Bank of Boston went into the banks of Kent County alone, immediately after the November election. An equal if not a greater amount was undoubtedly distributed in Sussex County, and thousands of dollars passed from hand to hand without getting into banks of deposit at all. If the cashier of the Merchants' National could be compelled to disclose the name signed to the check or checks upon which these new, consecutively numbered notes were issued, the Attorney-General of Delaware would be fully justified, I think, in filing an information under Section 8, Article V., of the Delaware Constitution, and bringing somebody before the Superior Court of Newcastle County for trial on the charge of vote-buying and bribery. Such a course of procedure would purify the political atmosphere of the State, and it might result in the enforced retirement of Mr. Addicks from the field of Delaware politics. I will not undertake to say where he would go, but he certainly would not go to the United States Senate.

That these notes of the Merchants' National Bank of Boston were paid into the stores and banks of Kent County by Union Republican voters there is not the shadow of a doubt. In Dover, in Camden, in Georgetown, in Dagsboro, in Bridgeville, and in many other towns and villages of southern Delaware, the pay offices of the Addicks cashiers were perfectly well known, and scores of men were seen going to them from the polls and coming out of them with the new, crisp bills in their hands. In Camden, Kent County, for example, the cashier's office was a small empty building familiar to everybody in the community. One hundred and thirty negroes, who had voted the Union Republican ticket, went from the polls to that building on election day, and some of them as they returned dropped into stores, with the money in their hands, and, holding it out for inspection, said to the clerks, "Say, boss, is dis yere counterfeit?" The crispness and newness of the unworn and uncreased notes excited their suspicion, and led them to fear that the bills had been manufactured for election purposes only.

In Georgetown, Sussex County, the office of the Addicks cashier was in a well-known general store on the main street of the town. The business of paying for Union Republican votes was carried on there so openly as to become a public scandal. Justice Boyce, of the Delaware Supreme Court, happened to pass the place on election day; saw negroes coming out with money in their hands; and was so filled with indignation that he went to the office of ex-Attorney-General Richards and asked whether the thing could not be stopped. Mr. Richards said that he thought Judge Boyce would be fully justified in raiding the place personally. The Judge thereupon went back to this store, burst in on the Addicks men, and said indignantly, "Gentlemen, this is disgraceful! It's scandalous! You'd better stop it!" The cashier's office was then moved to the house of a negro in a comparatively remote part of the town.

The buying of votes throughout southern Delaware, in last fall's election, was so open and so notorious that the local Addicks men did not think it worth while to make a secret of it, and the figures that I am about to quote were, in most cases, given by them to personal friends or intimate associates among the Democrats and Regulars. In the Camden precinct of the Seventh Representative District of Kent County, the chief Addicks worker, whose name I have, bought more than 200 voters, including 130 negroes out of the 134 who were registered. The market price of votes in the morning was $15, but it advanced to $25 later in the day. Five thousand dollars were sent there hurriedly in the afternoon, as a special emergency fund with which to buy votes for J. Frank Allee, the Addicks candidate for State Senator in the Third Senatorial District, when it was found that he was running behind in Dover. The emergency fund saved him, but he had only 98 plurality. In the first precinct of the Ninth Representative District of Kent County 175 Union Republican votes were paid for out of 225, and in the Fifth Representative District of the same county the Addicks workers bought 89 votes at $30 apiece, and about 100 votes (of negroes) at $10 apiece.

In the second precinct of the Second Representative District of Sussex County (Northwest Fork hundred) the Addicks men spent between $9,000 and $10,000, and bought 307 of their 401 votes. In the northern part of Nanticoke hundred, Sussex County, they polled 158 votes, of which 140 votes were purchased. In the First Representative District of Sussex County (Cedar Creek hundred) they bought more than half their voters, including 258 negroes out of 260. In the Dagsboro hundred, Sussex County, all of the Union Republican votes were bought except 16. There are said to be less than 50 unpurchasable voters in the whole Dagsboro hundred. In the Fifth Representative District of Sussex County (Little Creek hundred) the Addicks workers spent $5,700 and bought 407 votes. In the Fourth Representative District of the same county they spent $4,500 and bought 240 votes, as shown by their list.

I might continue this enumeration of votes bought in southern Delaware if there were any necessity for so doing; but statistics make monotonous reading, and I have given specific cases enough, I think, to sustain and justify my general charge. A prominent Union Republican leader told a citizen of Wilmington, who is well known in Washington as well as throughout Delaware, that Mr. Addicks spent in Kent and Sussex Counties in the campaign of 1902 no less than $130,000. This included, I presume, the cost of maintaining and running his political "machine." Scores of Addicks workers have to be paid every year for their services; the "influence" of locally prominent men has to be bought—frequently at a high price—and large sums of money given to local managers for the purchase of votes are misappropriated or embezzled. In 1894, for example, Mr. Addicks, or an agent acting in his behalf, put into the hands of two workers in Gumboro, Sussex County, the sum of $2,000 to be used in buying votes. The workers stole most of the money, and the election district went Democratic by 56 majority, although the corruption fund of the Democrats was only $275. It is a common practice, furthermore, among Addicks workers to buy negro votes at the rate of $5 or $10 apiece, turn them in to Addicks at the rate of $15 or $20 apiece, and then pocket the difference between the real price paid and the listed price. Against fraud of this kind Mr. Addicks, of course, has no protection. There may be "honor among thieves;" but honor does not seem to be a characteristic of men who are hired to buy votes in Delaware; and although the employer may know that he is being robbed, he cannot prosecute the robber without admitting that he himself is *particeps criminis*. Dr. Layton told a friend in Dover, two years ago, that among the Addicks workers in Sussex County there was nobody whom he could trust with money. They all stole.

Making due allowance for cash misappropriated or embezzled, and for the expense of running the Delaware "machine," Mr. Addicks probably spent not less than $80,000 in Kent and Sussex Counties last fall in the corruption of the electorate, and bought seven or eight thousand of the thirteen thousand votes polled for his legislative candidates. He now has twenty-one supporters in the Delaware Assembly, and is holding up the State as usual. Senator Hanna, Chairman of the National Republican Committee, telegraphs State Representative Flinn at Dover that the anti-Addicks men ought not to combine with the Democrats to defeat the Union Republicans, because "certainly the party is entitled to the fruits of its" (purchased) "victory."

[TO BE CONTINUED]

A FIGHT FOR THE CITY

THE STORY OF A CAMPAIGN OF AMATEURS

BY ALFRED HODDER

Private Secretary to District Attorney Jerome

IV.—The Powers that Rule

IT is not the office of the leader of a great campaign, in his speeches, or even, it may be, in his inmost meditations, to do elaborate justice to the mood and mind of those he comes to overthrow; it is enough for him if in his words and thoughts he does rough justice to their deeds. Not their inward and spiritual state is for the moment of importance to him and to his hearers, but the state of the community beneath their rule; in the nice consideration of degrees of innocence or guilt there would be for him and for his hearers only loss of passion and of power. To the defense the Tammany politicians might have made Mr. Jerome paid, naturally enough, small heed; yet in the long interval for unimpassioned thought that lies between election and election, the nature and the weight of that defense may well be found of moment, not to the defendant only, but to the community itself.

There was nothing new in Mr. Jerome's clear recognition of the alliance between the grafter and the puritan. Every man about town experienced in men and affairs takes that alliance for granted in his daily speech. What has escaped notice, seemingly, is the significance of that alliance for the conscience of Tammany itself.

The practice of levying blackmail on the wicked for the profit of the righteous is at least as old as Robin Hood; the practice of making vice contributory to the public treasury prevails in many foreign lands to-day. It is not a system that in the United States is sanctioned by the public conscience and the public will; but it is a system, not a chaos; it is to the credit of the administrative instinct in the community at large that, in the absence of administrable laws, there should have been evolved so firm and definite a scheme. An inadministrable law is in practice not a law; it commits to the administrator the labor of evolving case by case a practicable scheme. An inadministrable law is in practice infinitely worse than none; it foreordains the illegality of every practicable scheme. Where the law is inadministrable, the administration of the law is necessarily illegal; where the law is inadministrable, the administrator of the law is the legislator's *âme damnée.* The price paid for the specious virtue of the legislator is the administrator's legal guilt. It is not to be wondered at that the administrator should upon occasion turn in wrath upon the eloquent accuser who has been the foreordainer of his crime. The Tammany politician has thus turned upon his accuser more than once; he has declared in good set terms that he has served the public as in fact though not in word the public wishes to be served. The guilt of perjury lies in deceit. The oath he takes and breaks, the public has required that he shall take—and break; and it is toward the public only, he may reasonably claim, that its obligation was incurred. It is a familiar principle of law and ethics that to the performance of impossibilities no man can possibly be bound. The legislating public solemnly propounds to him an oath for the performance of impossibilities which it knows to be impossibilities; he solemnly recites the oath that its propounder knows to be an oath for the performance of impossibilities: *qui est-ce qu'on trompe ici?*

The administrative system thus evolved is far from being the private property of Tammany or even of the Democratic party as a whole. No political party in the United States has the monopoly of the administrative lie. The system is essentially the same whatever party may chance to have the upper hand. If it is under Tammany that the illegal administrative system is oftenest and most violently denounced, that is by no means because under Tammany the administrative lie and the illegal administrative system it necessitates reach their extremest form. It is rather because the Democratic party as a whole, and Tammany in particular, have less than their opponents' genius for the administrative lie. It is rather because the Tammany politician is administering a system to which he was not born. The administrative lie is Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, and Puritanic; the Tammany politician, as a rule, is none of these three things. His taste in lies, if lie he must, is of a different kind; his taste in men is of a different kind; his very conscience is of a different kind. Confessedly it is not the Anglo-Saxon element that is predominant in Tammany; and no one ever yet has called hypocrisy the Irishman's besetting sin. His temptations to departure from veracity have seemingly an altogether different source. They are temptations seemingly to overpraise his interlocutor rather than his own people or himself, and the praise he gives and seeks is not the praise of being grave and good and great; it is the praise of being loyal, loving, charming, witty, brave, and kind. It is probable, indeed, that he sees neither stimulus to virtue nor evidence of virtue in the overstatement of his own or of his neighbor's moral strength; he has been taught that the remission of men's sins must be preceded by the confession of their sins, and that none have been more ready to claim kinship with the sinner than the holiest of the saints. His forte lies neither in rebuke nor exhortation, nor even in moral indignation. It can scarcely be affirmed of him as yet that he has shown any special aptitude for doing justice; it can scarcely be denied of him that he loves mercy and walks humbly with his God.

Far from overstating his own virtues, he is prone upon occasion to understate them—of all modes of speech the most bewildering and exasperating to the average Anglo-Saxon mind. Only the other day Mr. Croker was guilty of a slip of just this sort; in words which rang from the Atlantic coast to the Pacific, he declared himself to have been working for his own pocket all the time. No man in the least experienced in men or in affairs will find it credible that in this instance he was speaking the truth about himself. It is not to be believed that ever any man attained and kept the central place in a vast body of quick-witted and hot-hearted men by working for his own pocket all the time; it is not to be believed that Mr. Croker has not sacrificed a thousand times his personal and present interests, if not indeed to those of the great public, still to those of his colleagues and his clan. The point is that, face to face with enemies who had a gift and passion for good words, he had no impulse to give himself good words; he had an impulse rather of sheer wrathful and disgustful impatience of good words; he utterly declined to drape himself in any decorative phrase. The point is that this impatience of the decorative phrase is found far oftener on the Democratic than on the Republican side. There is nothing in the principles of the two parties to explain their difference on this point; the principles of the Democratic party lend themselves perhaps more readily to the requirements of the ringing phrase: the source of the difference lies rather in a difference of race and of inherited ideals. It is only in the Democratic ranks that there occur such outbursts of impolitic and disconcerting candor as made memorable the administration of the late Chief of Police; it would be an error to suppose that William Devery incurred the indignation of the public in the first instance by his deeds; he incurred it by his words. There had been chiefs of police before his day who exercised quite as capriciously and ruthlessly as great an arbitrary power; what the public would not stand for was a lawless exercise of power that was not even denied. That William Devery did himself injustice by his words there is no reason to believe; but at least it is self-evident that he, too, had no impulse to give himself good words; he has a gift for words, but he has used it for the fabrication of the undecorative phrase. Audacities of utterance like his can never be the rule in any group of politicians; and Mr.

Croker, and for that matter Mr. Sullivan, are more renowned for silence than for speech; but still their very silence obviously is a silence from good words. They may plead plausibly enough that they have done what the great public wishes to have done, but in the meanwhile they have failed to say what it wishes to have said. They have too lightly taken for granted that by keeping on the statute-book the formulas of the administrative lie, the public craving for the decorative phrase is once for all appeased. Among their colleagues few or none have made amends for this oversight of theirs. Even when the Tammany politician is in theory a convert to the charm or to the usefulness of the administrative lie, even when he takes it on his lips deliberately, he, for the most part, fails to recite it with sufficient gravity and unction; because it is a formula, he recites it *du bout des lèvres* and formally; like certain Old World comedians lauded by Charles Lamb, he seems to be confiding to his audience that he is but playing a part. When the administrative lie is called in question, he has not the least appearance of feeling his own veracity to be impugned; it might be almost fancied that he breathed more freely, as now at last at liberty without deceit to speak the lines set down. If we are near waking when we dream, we are still more obviously near truth-telling when we are willing to admit we lie; indeed, fiction owned for fiction has seldom, except among the strictest of the puritans, passed for a lie at all. But lies so told lose half their power to thrill; under the administration of Tammany the great Anglo-Saxon public has been left starving for good words.

In the United States the public is by no means Anglo-Saxon—witness Tammany; and the time may come when even in morals there will be a compromise between the ideals of the Anglo-Saxon race and those of races whose blood is blent with ours. To me it seems that in the compromise there is not necessarily involved a moral loss. There is something to be said for the morality of suiting action to word and word to action, and something even for the morality of being a little better than one's word. I cannot for my life detest William Devery—he is too veracious; nor yet Tim Sullivan—he is too kindly; there is in the world no sort of charity that counts for good except Big Tim's. Nor yet Tammany itself; it fosters in too great perfection the spirit without which no great republic ever yet has thriven—the spirit of the clan. The clan differs from the trust, whether of capital or labor, in that it embraces all sorts and conditions of men. There are doubtless various excellent sorts of men that count few representatives in Tammany, but at least it has been rather they that held aloof than Tammany that refused to take them in. Tammany has enabled men in widely different states of life to understand one another's needs and natures. It has accomplished quietly and effectually for its own innumerable members what has been too often fussily and ineffectually attempted for the community at large. It has supplied in time of need material aid without the intervention of a Charity Organization, and legal aid without the intervention of a Legal Aid Society. If its system of administration has been liable to terrible abuses, it has been sedulous in the protection of the individual against the working of the system, at least whenever the individual has been a member of the clan. No doubt it has been often reckless of the interest of individuals not numbered with the clan; no doubt it has often been reckless of the interest of the public as a whole. But it was said long since by a great statesman that the man who in his politics pursues the interest of his friends at least has proved himself disposed to seek some other interest than his own. And it may be doubted whether any man was ever capable of working to good purpose for the public who was not capable of working for a clan. When all is said, there is for individuals and for nations such a thing as an apprenticeship of public spirit; and it might be served in a worse school than Tammany Hall. If there is to be forever in the city of New York a system of inadministrable law and illegal administration, the application of the system might be in worse hands than those of Tammany Hall.

But Tammany is committed to that lying system; there lies the rub with Tammany. However little natural gift or liking it may have for the administrative lie, it has accepted its existence, it has built upon it; its whole vast edifice is overthrown when that is overthrown. It is too much to ask of human nature that a man or that an organization should deliberately and voluntarily renounce its means of life. I am very far from meaning that Tammany is incapable of finding other means of life; with the same resourcefulness with which it has adapted itself to the conditions of the administrative lie, it would doubtless have adapted, it would doubtless still adapt, itself to conditions different from these. But all its work would be to do again. It is the price men pay too often for their power of dealing with the established fact, that they acquire a sort of vested interest in the fact with which they have contrived to deal successfully; they made the best of it because it was unalterable, they desire it to remain unaltered because they have found how to make the best of it. Something like this has happened in the case of the Tammany politician and the administrative lie; he may well at first have found himself embarrassed by it; he could not have rid himself of it if he would. He has been the victim, he has come to be the champion, of the established fact. He may reasonably be reproached with all the evils of the established fact, not because he is its author, but because he seeks to keep it as it is.

And the evil of the established system scarcely can be by any eloquence exaggerated; explain the cause as we may, there can be no question as to the effect. The system of illegal licensing of violations of laws not meant to be observed tends naturally toward the licensing of violations of any and of every law. The collection of such license fees by the administrators, indirectly or directly, tends to give them an interest rather in the violation than in the observance of the law. The very fact that the administrators of an inadministrable law are themselves inevitably lawbreakers tends to throw them into fellowship with other lawbreakers; the very fact that they themselves inevitably stand within the danger of the law leads them to associate themselves with other lawbreakers for the corruption of the higher and the lower courts. In his capacity of Justice of the Court of Special Sessions, Mr. Jerome had, year by year, ample opportunities to see these tendencies fulfilled. He spoke to his audiences of what he saw. He spoke to them not only of the blackmail levied and the lawless power exerted among prostitutes and gamblers and saloon-keepers, but of the blackmail levied on the law-abiding poor. It is not the least among the offsets to the charity of Tammany that what is given to the poor has been but too frequently wrested from the poor.

"Take one small instance," Mr. Jerome said, with his usual picturesque precision of illustration. "Take what looks like a small matter, yet concerns a great many decent men. The conditions of life are hard in a great city like this: the labor market is overstocked. There are a great many people who seek to make their living in the humble occupation of push-cart peddlers; and what do they find?

"These men pay the city of New York for the privilege of selling; have they not a right to sell without squaring it with the wardman? Have they not a right to sell without buying tickets for Tim Sullivan's chowder-parties?" (Voices in the crowd, it is recorded, cried, "That's good!") "I have been told a story of what happened a short time ago, as this election was approaching, and I believe it because it was told me by a man who I am sure has never yet lied wittingly, and because it tallies with the things that I myself have seen. I have been told that all of a sudden, as this election was approaching, the police force descended upon the peddlers of the East Side. They had been getting on very nicely through the summer, with only an occasional shake-down, perhaps, from the Board of Health—of course they had to pay that; it may be, too, with an occasional shake-down from the plain-clothes man—well, of course they had to pay that. Those who had most money had to take occasionally some tickets for a chowder-party; well, they had to pay that. But I am told that as election time drew near there was a great activity of the police force among the push-cart men, so that at last the association of the push-cart men betook themselves in all humility to Martin Engel and asked what they had got to do. And Martin Engel answered, 'You have got to support Tammany Hall.' Well, it was support Tammany Hall or get arrested. It was support Tammany Hall or be put out of business. Thereupon the association answered, 'Yes, great one, we will support Tammany Hall.' But once inside the little box on election day, I find it difficult to believe the push-cart men will still be supporting Tammany Hall. Men will do much for friendship—that is human nature; when a man is kind to me, I, for my part, desire to help him all I can. Uptown men say to me, 'Hang it, Jerome, those fellows somehow get down to the hearts of the people. You know they give the outings.' Mr. Hochstim, Mr. Katz, Mr. Engel, and the rest, they seem to think, have twined themselves about your hearts. Heaven help you, then! I think you must have let your hearts slip down into your pockets. It would be hard enough to know where else they can be found entwined."

The next night, in Brooklyn, he recurred to the same theme. "Whatever you may think about push-carts in the street," he said, "there are a great many men trying to make an honest living in that way. Whatever you may think about fruit-stands at the corners, there are a great many men trying to make an honest living that way. And in the midst of those men we have a district leader. And you go to your clubs in the brownstone district, and the politician in the brownstone district says: 'Now, the trouble about the situation in this city is that we do not get down to the hearts of the common people as the Tammany people do.' And Mr. Shepard said the other night in Tammany Hall that the Tammany leaders have entwined themselves in the hearts of the plain people. As I have had occasion to remark before this evening, it seems to me rather that they have entwined themselves in the pockets of the plain people. But we are told that we must get a hold on their affections as the district leader does. Well, you say, what does the district leader do? Why, he gives these people an outing or a picnic. Let me tell you what happens in some of their outings and picnics. Tim Sullivan gets up an outing and a picnic. Tom Foley gets up an outing and a picnic. Wardman Hahn goes out and sells to the peddlers and the keepers of gin-mills and the push-cart men a thousand tickets at five dollars apiece. Another plain-clothes man comes pretty near doing the same. And when I spoke unflatteringly of Mr. Hahn, Mr. Foley came to me and said: 'You are all wrong about Mr. Hahn. He is a very fine fellow. He does not need to be on the force at all. You know he made a great deal of money in Brooklyn Rapid Transit.' Well, one man that has a fruit-stand finds that he cannot get his license renewed. He asks about it. 'Did you take some of Tim Sullivan's chowder tickets?' 'No, I could not afford to do it.' 'Go and do it.' He goes and does it, and gets his license. And at the end of these chowders you find that never a one of them has a deficit. In the old days the district leader used to put the surplus in his pocket, but now they tell me that it goes into the treasury of the local organization. At least they never fail of getting from some $2,500 to $3,000 cash profit, and the securing of that profit is the work these district leaders do. Then, too, the push-cart men have got to square themselves with the wardmen. Then, too, they have got to square themselves with the health inspector. Then, too, they have got to square themselves with other persons who come around representing certain people whom I do not name. And so it goes all through; not vice alone pays its enormous tribute, but honest industry must pay if it expects to live."

Honest industry of all degrees of humility and dignity: one of the stories Mr. Jerome told oftenest during the campaign, because its repetition was demanded oftenest by his audiences, had been first intended as a sort of parable of the difficulties encountered under a Tammany administration in the conduct of honest trade of every kind. "Yes, if you want it, I will tell you the lemon story; it came about this way. There are a number of very earnest and enthusiastic men, with New England consciences, who live in Litchfield County, Connecticut. They formed the Litchfield County Universal Club, they built a club-house, and last summer they asked me to come up there. It wasn't far from a little place I have in the country. I talked with them after dinner, and the toast—there was nothing but apollinaris at that dinner; it was in New England—and the toast that they gave me to respond to, and that I was presumably to occupy about five minutes in responding to, was 'Municipal Problems and their Solution.' It reminded me of a reporter calling me up about 11:30 in One Hundred and Forty-eighth Street, and saying that the editor wanted an interview that would occupy about half a column upon 'Strikes and their Solution.' Such a simple, easy thing to give offhand, after you had been pulled out of bed in your pajamas! Well, I was up against it, and I had to speak succinctly upon municipal problems and their solution. And I gave a story by way of illustration. I told them it was purely imaginary and symbolic; and this was the case that I imagined—that there was a scarcity of lemons in the New York market, and that a merchant in the city of New York, seeing the situation, cabled to his agents on the Mediterranean, 'Ship me so many thousand lemons by first steamer.' The scarcity of lemons at once caused other shipments, but this merchant, by his willingness to spend money and by reason of his connections abroad, got his $5,000 worth of lemons on the first steamer, which meant probably a gain ot thirty-six hours. There was such a scarcity of lemons when the steamer reached the dock that before the next steamer arrived it would enable him to make a profit of at least a dollar a box, which he was fairly entitled to because of his sagacity in foreseeing the conditions of the market and his readiness in meeting those conditions. When the ship arrived, he rushed up to the Custom-House, feeling perfectly delighted. When he had paid his duties at the Custom-House he went down on the dock and a fellow came up and said: 'Are you the man that brought these lemons over?' 'I am.' The fellow threw back his coat and disclosed the shield of an inspector of the Board of Health. He said, 'I think these lemons will have to be hand-picked.' Hand-picking five thousand boxes of lemons meant simply that the merchant would lose his market, because other steam-shipments of lemons would arrive before the hand-picking could be finished. He said, 'What is it worth?' 'Well, two hundred and fifty will do this time.' He had to pay it. He was simply trying to carry on his honest, legitimate business, and so, rather than lose his profit, he paid. Now, this was the story that I told up in the Litchfield Hills. It was a Friday night, and somebody telegraphed to the New York papers enough of the story to show what I was driving at, but not enough to show that I had stated it as a purely imaginary case. Now comes the point. On Monday morning, in my chambers in the Criminal Court Building, I had a visit from a certain person, who, after beating about the bush and lingering a long time, came out at last with the purpose of his errand. He had been directed, he said, by an official of the Health Department to find out how—well, how—'Say, Judge, who put you next about those lemons?'" When fairy tales like these come true, what must we not conclude concerning the plain facts of every day?

Officials such as these are naturally appointed according to a system suited to the duties they are expected to perform. To men of all classes in the city, but in especial to the members of the poorer classes, there can be few matters more important than the food and drink supply. For the rich a secondary system of inspection is provided by the middleman. The poor must take such viands as dealers are authorized to sell. Another of the stories dear to Mr. Jerome's audiences illustrated the method of appointment of meat inspectors. "The Board of Health," said Mr. Jerome, "used to be under the control of Commissioner Michael Murphy. Because of his eminent respectability they have transferred him since to the control of the Police Department; but I am speaking now of what took place in the Health Department in his day. The Board of Health used to appoint inspectors. These inspectors had to submit to a civil service examination, so they used to appoint emergency men, thirty-day men, and used to shift them from one department to another. And there were fruit inspectors and fish inspectors and meat inspectors, and inspectors of every kind whatsoever; and they finally got down to ice inspectors. One day they held an examination for meat inspectors. Well, you know that the civil service is the bulwark of the Nation; you know it is the sole and certain way to keep the public service absolutely pure, and you know that the questions are never so worded that a man of sense can guess from the question the reply. But this was not one of the highfalutin examinations about the chemical constitution of cellular tissue; it was a practical examination of meat inspectors, who were to pick out mutton and pork and beef and ham—a variety of pork, I believe, and other articles that were sold in the market as meat. And they asked the question, 'Which is ham? Indicate by number.' And all these articles were spread out on the table and were numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and so on. And the numbers had been given out to the persons who were going to apply for examination—before they came there. Now, there is a man who has made his way by competition to the head of the civil service in the way of Chief Examiner. He is a man by the name of Ireland. He knows a thing or two. The place is not political; they didn't put him in and they can't get him out. And he came along and saw these numbers. Well, it came into his head that, just to see what would happen, he would shift the numbers around. There was not a Tammany Hall man appointed meat inspector. They may challenge that story if they want to. I have Mr. Ireland's letter in my pocket."

Men who selected their subordinates and were themselves selected in this fashion were, besides, the purchasers of every sort of municipal supplies. "There is a very honorable and upright man," said Mr. Jerome, "in charge of one of the departments of the city of New York. He is protected by the civil service law or he would no longer be there. He has no right to say what price the city of New York shall pay for the goods that are supplied him; that is altogether too dangerous a privilege to give an upright and honorable man; but he is so conscientious as to look over the lists of goods supplied to his department and see to it that the quality and quantity come pretty near being what they ought to be. The price is fixed by—well, I fancy Mr. Murphy was in office when this occurred. It was not so very long ago. There was a requisition made in this Department for two pounds of sponges. There is a company in New York—oh, a very sincere, warm, personal friend of Mr. Croker is connected with it—by which this Department is supplied with whatever may be needed, from an anchor to a needle. When the requisition was returned with the goods, there was an item on the bill that read, 'Two pounds of sponges, $5.' Well, the gentleman of whom I have spoken took the bill, looked it over, checked off 'One electric stove,' which could have been put in for $150 and which was put in for $350, and finally arrived at the 'Two pounds of sponges, $5.' 'John, where are the sponges?' 'Here, Doctor, two little nub sponges.' 'Put them on the scales, John.' John put them on the scales and they weighed four ounces. The next day round came an agent of the company. 'Well, Doc, have you O. K.'d our bill?' (Of course all the Doctor has to do is to O. K. as to quantity and quality.) 'No,' said he, 'I have not O. K.'d it. You will have to make those sponges right or cut them out.' 'The sponges are all right.' 'No,' said the Doctor, 'there are no two pounds of sponges here; we put them on the balance and they weighed only four ounces.' 'You don't mean to say,' exclaimed the agent, with a profane expletive expressive of the most scornful contempt, 'that you weighed them dry!'"

The city's contracts for building materials were but too likely to be given to contractors of the same traditions as the firm whose agent was startled by the unaccustomed notion of weighing sponges dry.

The unrestricted liberty of the official purchaser was symbolized in still another anecdote told more than once by Mr. Jerome.

"An Irishwoman bustled into a department store and met the floor-walker.

"'Oi want a crrevette,' said she.

"'Oh, you want a cravat, madam," said he.

"'Sure,' said she.

"'Third counter to your right, if you please, where the saleslady stands under the window,' said he. So she bustled to the third counter to the right.

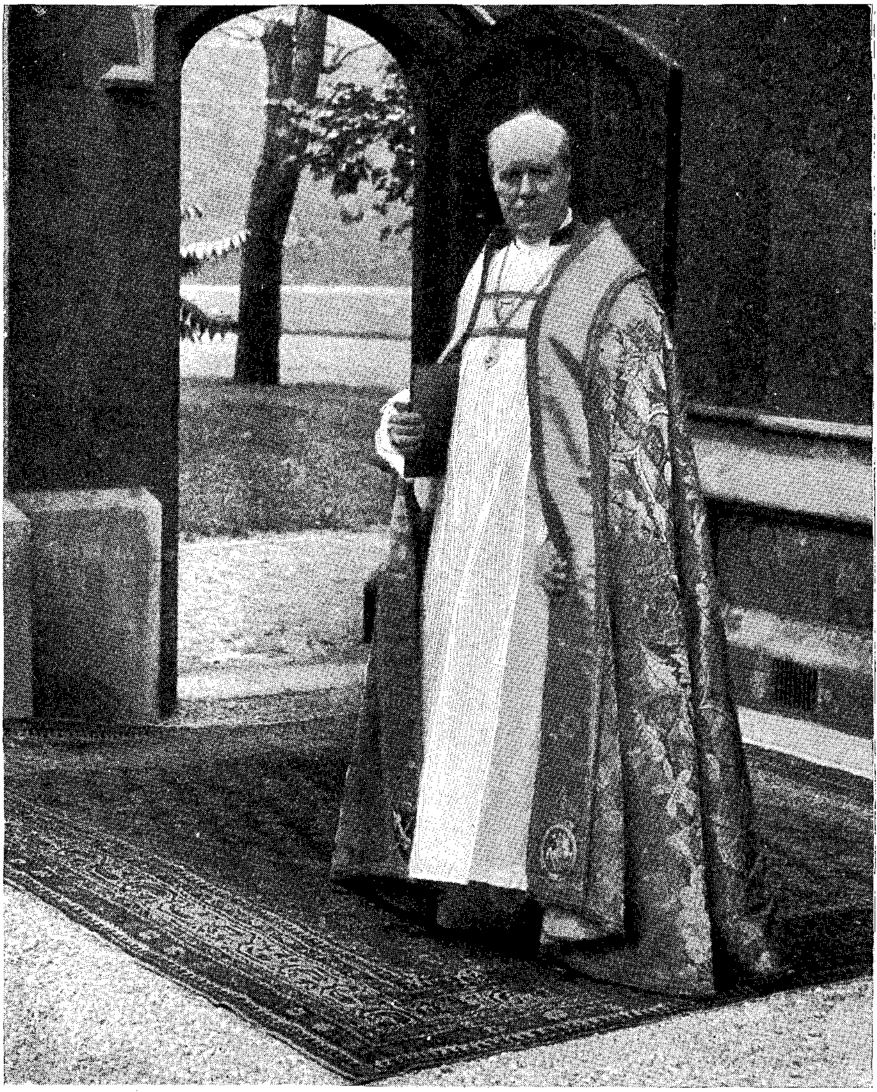
"'Oi want a crrevette,' said she.

"'A cravat?' said the saleslady; 'what kind would you prefer? We have four-in-hands, Oxfords, and a variety.' The Irishwoman reflected.

"'Perhaps the gentleman has some choice?' said the saleslady.

"'Divil a bit of choice has he. He will wear anything I put about his neck. The gintleman is a corpse!'"

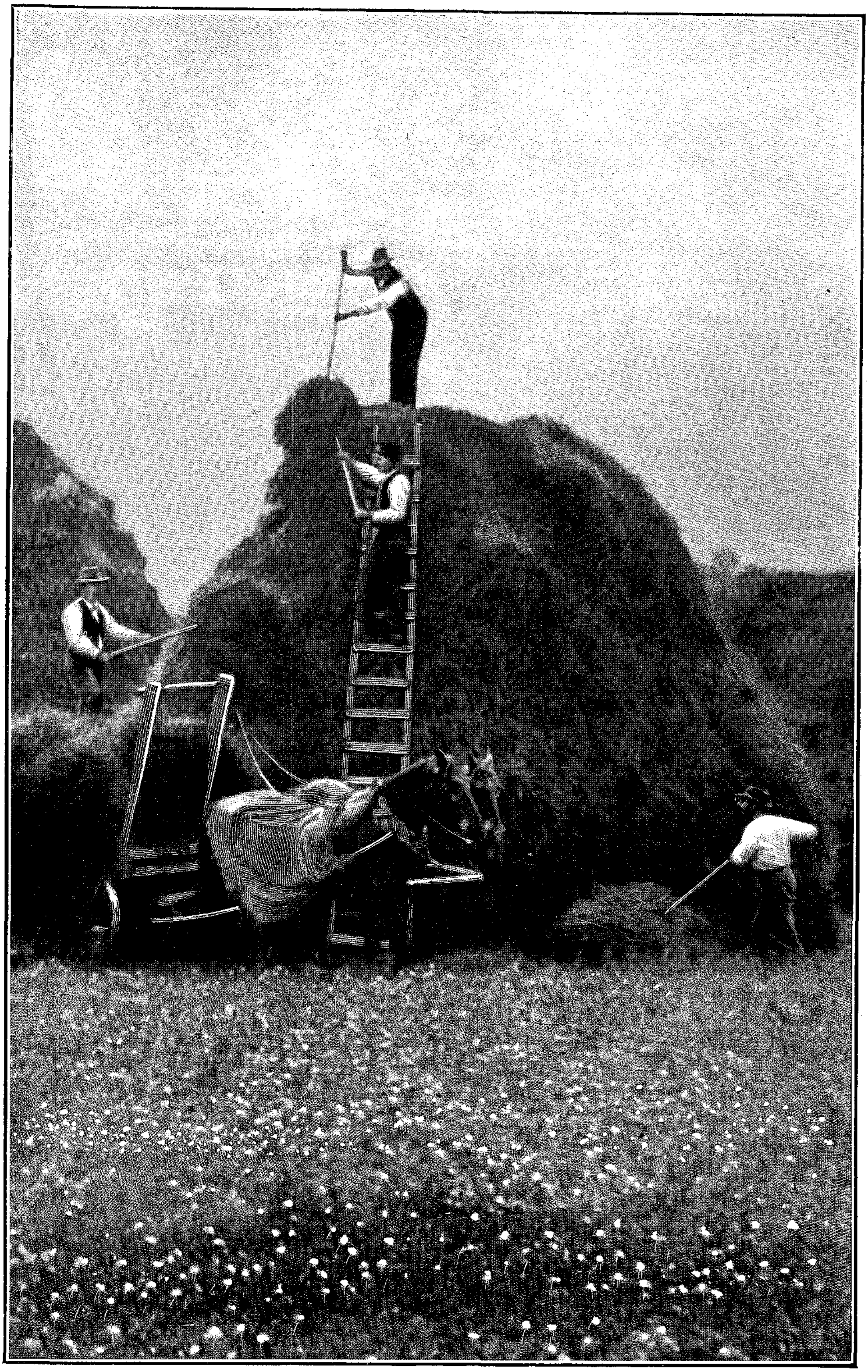
[TO BE CONTINUED]



PHOTOGRAPH BY UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

The New Archbishop of Canterbury

The Right Reverend Thomas Randall Davidson, at present Bishop of Winchester, has been chosen to succeed the late Most Reverend Frederick Temple, D.D., as Archbishop of Canterbury. To this exalted position Dr. Davidson brings peculiar qualifications. In the first place, although popularly supposed to belong to the broad Evangelical party, he really represents every party in the Church; in the second place, his long and careful training for the primacy was derived from his brilliant student days at Trinity College, Oxford, his curacy in Kent, his chaplaincy in the service of Archbishops Tait and Benson, his deanship at Windsor, and finally his accession to the Episcopal Bench—first to the See at Rochester, and next to the great historical See of Winchester; moreover, Dr. Davidson will grace the Archbishopric by reason of his notable urbanity of manner. It may be remembered that when Mr. Spurgeon died, Dr. Davidson followed him to the grave and gave the benediction there.



TOPPING OUT THE GRAIN-STACKS OF J. W. MADREY, A COLORED FARMER OF CALVIN

TWO GENERATIONS UNDER FREEDOM

BY BOOKER T. WASHINGTON

With Photographs by C. W. Chandler

I HAVE often been asked to what extent the Negro race has the ability for self-direction and government, and the power to initiate and to make continuous progress unaided.

I want to try to answer this question, in part at least, not by abstract argument, but by telling the story of a self-governing community of colored people.

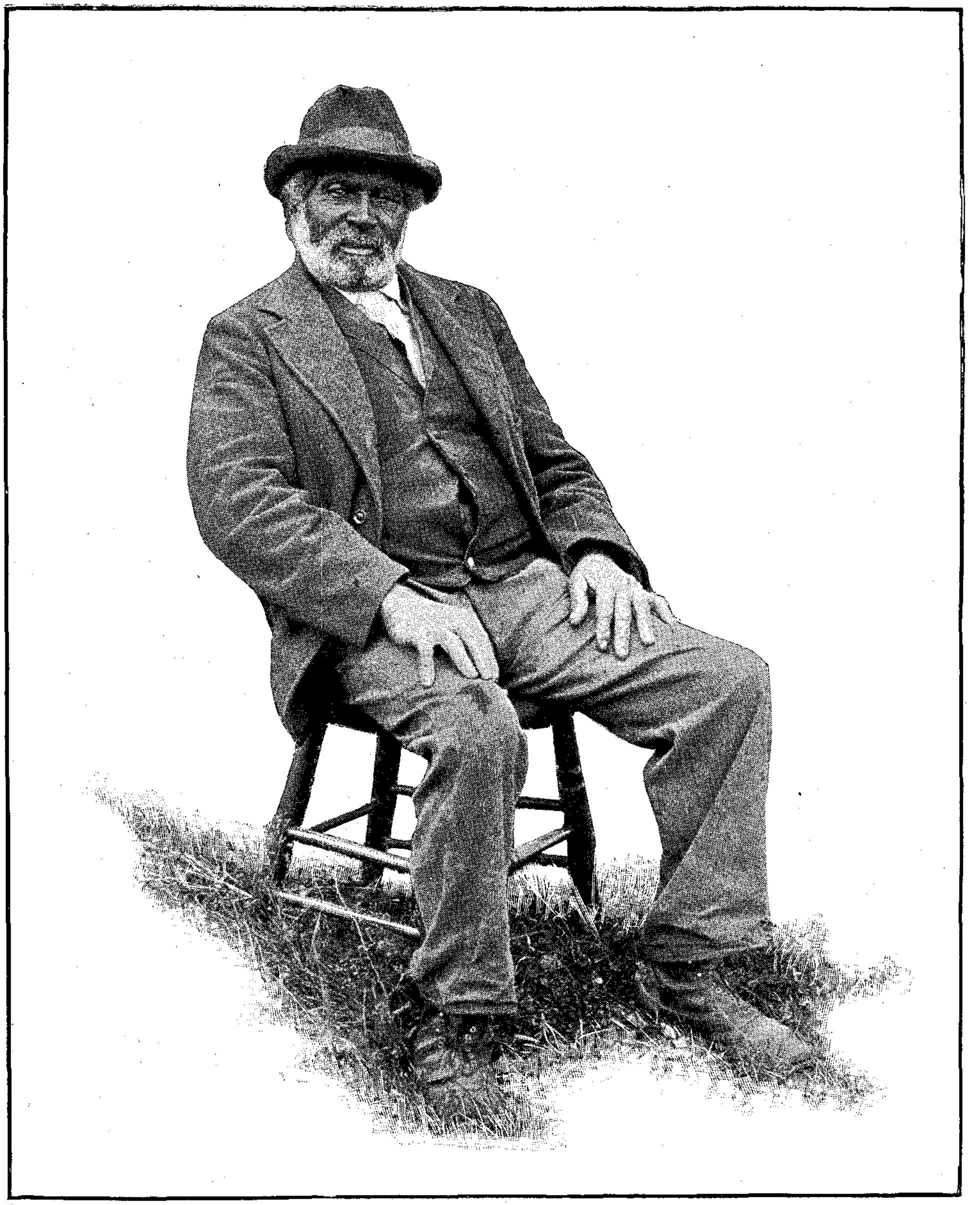
The group of negroes whose story I want to tell reside in Cass County, Michigan. Among the early settlers of that part of the State were several Quakers who had left their former homes in the South because they did not approve of slavery. In Michigan, as elsewhere, these Quakers soon let it be known that not only were they opposed to the institution of human slavery, and that runaway slaves would receive a friendly welcome among them, but that they would also receive physical protection if necessary. In addition to becoming an asylum for escaping slaves, this community of Quakers soon became a station on the "Underground Railroad."

The townships in Cass County in which the Quakers for the most part settled were named Calvin and Porter. It was about the year 1840 that a few colored people, mostly from Kentucky, began to find their way into these townships. Every year after that the number of escaped slaves grew larger, until in the year 1847 a determined effort was made on the part of some slaveholders to recapture their runaway negroes. Quite a number of slave-owners or their representatives appeared in Calvin township in that year, coming in one band, mounted and well armed, and made a bold and determined effort to regain possession of their property and return it to Kentucky. The effort at capture was successfully resisted by the Quakers, the colored people, and other residents of the community.

While a few of the colored people, as a result of this raid, became uneasy and fled to Canada, the ultimate result was to advertise Cass County, Michigan, as being a part of the country where negroes could enjoy a reasonable freedom from the constant fear of being snatched up and returned to their former masters. After the "raid" a still larger number of colored people began to go into the two townships named, and they covered a much wider territory than the first settlers. In addition to those who came directly to Michigan, not a few escaped slaves left Ohio, where they had first located themselves, in order to settle in Cass County, where the good Quakers had so effectually proved their courage and loyalty.

It was not, however, until the year 1849 that one of these townships, Calvin, began to assume the character which invests it with special interest at present. In 1847 a large slaveholder by the name of Saunders, who lived in Cabell County, Virginia —now a part of West Virginia—died. When his will was opened, it was found that provision had been made to the effect that all his slaves must be made free. The will further provided a generous amount of money which was to be used in removing all of the testator's slaves into a free State. In addition, the slave-owner made arrangements for the purchase of a tract of land in some free State to be divided among these people, and the building of a house for each of his former slave families, the will also providing the money to do all this.

The Saunders ex-slaves, forty-one in number, at last were started northward. One who was entitled to accompany them refused to go into a land of freedom, even with all the added advantages of this opportunity, because his wife was a slave and could not go with him. After a long journey, which was attended by many hardships, the members of the party finally reached their Michigan home a few days before Christmas. A large tract of land which was a complete wilderness had been purchased by the executors.



SAMUEL HAWKES, THE LARGEST TAXPAYER IN CALVIN

His tax for 1902 was $154.36

This tract was divided into parcels of eighteen acres for each individual—men, women, and even infants—the youngest baby getting as much as the oldest man. A small log house of such style as was common for the settlers in that country at that time was erected for each family.

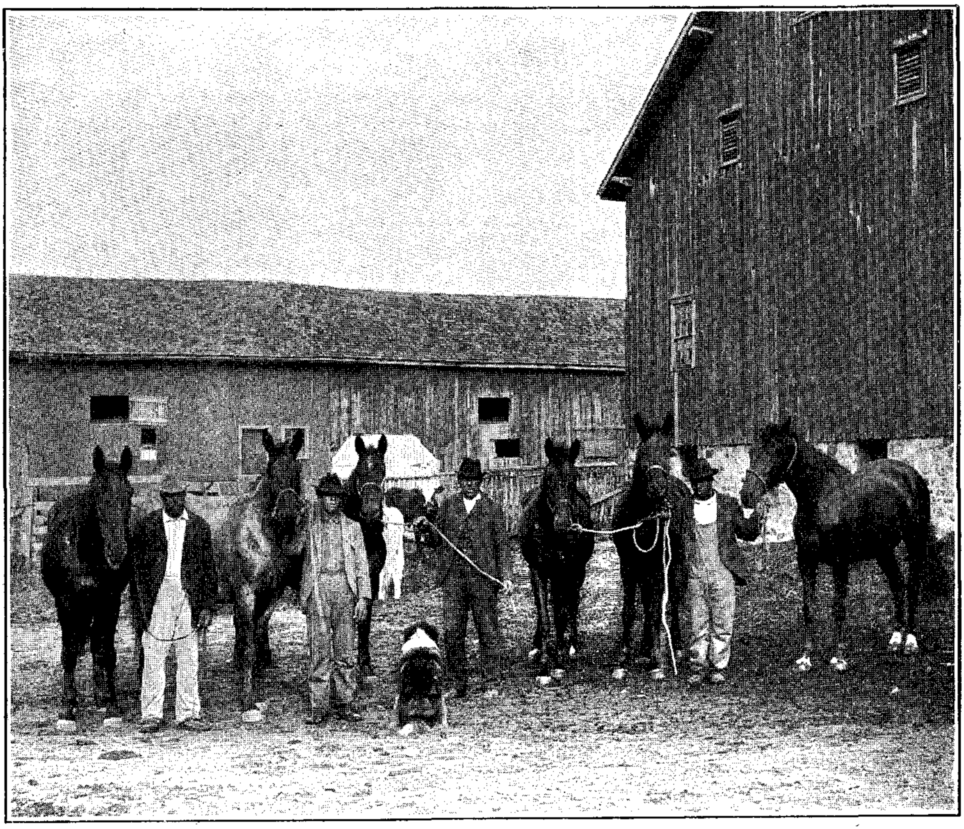
The Saunders families—for each family took the name of the former master of the slaves—found their first winter in the wilds of Michigan in sharp contrast to the temperate climate they had left behind them in Virginia. They underwent a great deal of suffering. Not only were they unused to the climate, but they had to clear land for the spring planting in soil to which they were not accustomed. Their Quaker friends, as well as the colored people already residing in Calvin township, were most kind to them, but the rigorous climate, as well as the sudden change in methods of living, began to tell upon these people in rather a discouraging manner before many months in their new home had passed. It soon became evident that there were some things that the mere gift of freedom and the gift of lands and money could not do. Freedom, lands, and money could not give one experience in self-direction and self-dependence. In the words of another, "Freedom is a conquest, not a bequest."

For several years the Saunders families were in a majority in the township, and they prospered in a reasonable degree. But, as time passed, many of them began to let their wants increase faster than their ability to supply these increased wants. In their extravagant ideas and practices they began to demonstrate the truth of the old saying that a man values only what he has had experience in accumulating. Besides this, while these new settlers were in the possession of lands and houses, they were without education. Some of them began to give mortgages on their land, and while their good Quaker neighbors would protect them in their freedom, and help them to get an education, they were not averse at any time to driving a shrewd and safe business bargain. Not many years passed before a good part of the land once owned by the Saunders families began to fall into the hands of the Friends.

I will not recite in more detail the story of the Saunders community, except to say that most of the property owned by these people gradually passed out of their hands in one way and another, some part of it being secured by other shrewd colored men who had settled in Calvin township. I think I make a correct statement in saying that when I visited the township a few weeks ago I found only one of the original Saunders settlers who at the present time owns any of the land bought by the executors of the Saunders estate. The bare mention of "a Saunders family" would quite likely cause a quiet smile to creep over the face of one of the old inhabitants who did not belong to that group. These people not only had not held their own materially, but I found that, a few years after the newcomers began to get planted in their free homes, not a few of the young men began developing habits of idleness, not a few became criminals, while still others made themselves offensive to the whites and sensible blacks by becoming "uppish" and in other ways disagreeable. All these things resulted in giving the community something of a bad name for several years.

From the foregoing some may draw the conclusion at once that the whole effort was a failure. Not by any means. What I have stated simply emphasizes the fact that human nature is very much the same, no matter under what color of skin it is found. What I have related of the history of the Saunders community illustrates what I have often tried to say in relation to my race in general in this country—that the first one or two generations of freed people would naturally in many cases mistake freedom for license and would be overcome, in a large measure, by the first temptations of their new life; but that the second or third generations would begin to settle down to hard, sober business. If any one wants to get direct and specific proof of the truth of this statement, he should spend one or two days, as I have done, in making a first-hand investigation of the present condition of the negroes in Calvin township.

My visit of inspection, however, before I had been in the township two hours, taught me that the weak points exhibited by the people of the earlier generations had wrought a most beneficial work. It is often said that a thing that is bad has to get worse before it gets better. This I found to be true of Calvin township. At about the time when matters had gone down to their lowest ebb, industrially and morally, the more level-headed of the colored people began to realize the situation and to resolve that by strong and earnest effort they would bring about a reform. At about this time there began coming into the township a different class of people. These came mainly from Ohio, North Carolina, and Virginia. As a rule, they or their parents represented a class of people who had been set free—the class which in North Carolina were termed "free niggers," a designation which, strange to say, was used as a term of contempt by negro slaves as well as by their masters. The main point that I want to bring out here, though, is that these later settlers, either in Ohio or in some of the Southern States, had got over the first flush of freedom, and so were ready to

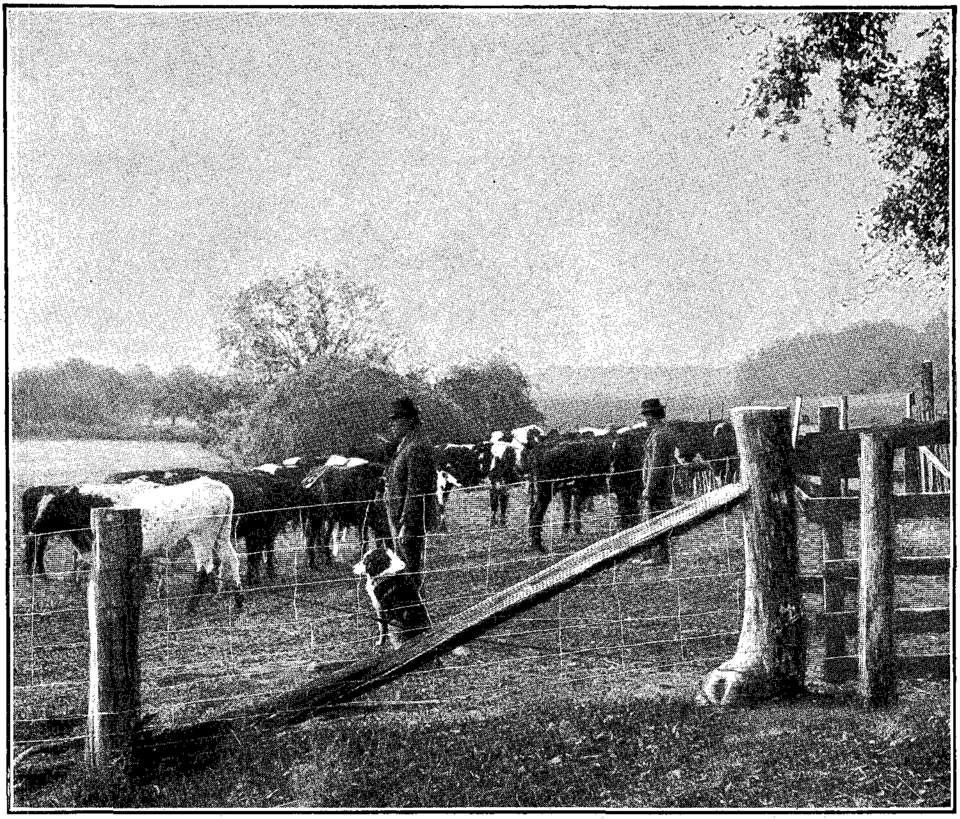


THE BARNYARD OF BILL ALLEN'S FARM

settle down to business when they reached Calvin township. The money and the experience that these people brought with them to Calvin had been dearly earned by themselves. This new element joined itself with the better representatives of the earlier settlers, and very soon Calvin township began to acquire a new atmosphere. The real solid growth of the township began from this time.

My attention was first attracted to this settlement some years ago when I was in South Bend, Indiana, the site of the Studebaker wagon factories. I noticed that the colored people of South Bend seemed to be an unusually prosperous and solid lot of people, far above the average of those generally found in large cities, or anywhere in the North. I asked one of the Studebakers the reason for this difference, and he said that he thought it grew out of the fact that from the first the Studebaker firm had never permitted any color line to be drawn in any department of their works—that a negro was not made to feel that on account of his race he was assigned to a certain minor place in the factory, and could not hope to rise above that place, no matter how well he did his work. Mr. Studebaker said that they had held out to their negro workmen the same hope of reward in the way of promotion or increase of pay that the white workmen had held before them. There is a lesson in this treatment of the negro workmen by the Studebakers that has in it a solution for many of the problems connected with the negro. Take away from any race or individual the hope of reward, and you help destroy the race or individual.

From this discussion of the condition of the colored people in South Bend, Mr. Studebaker called my attention to the large community of colored people in Calvin township, Michigan, which is not very far from South Bend, since Cass County, in which Calvin is situated, is on the southern boundary of Michigan. When I asked Mr. Studebaker about these people he said in substance that for a number of years his firm had sold them wagons and other farm machinery, and had often sold



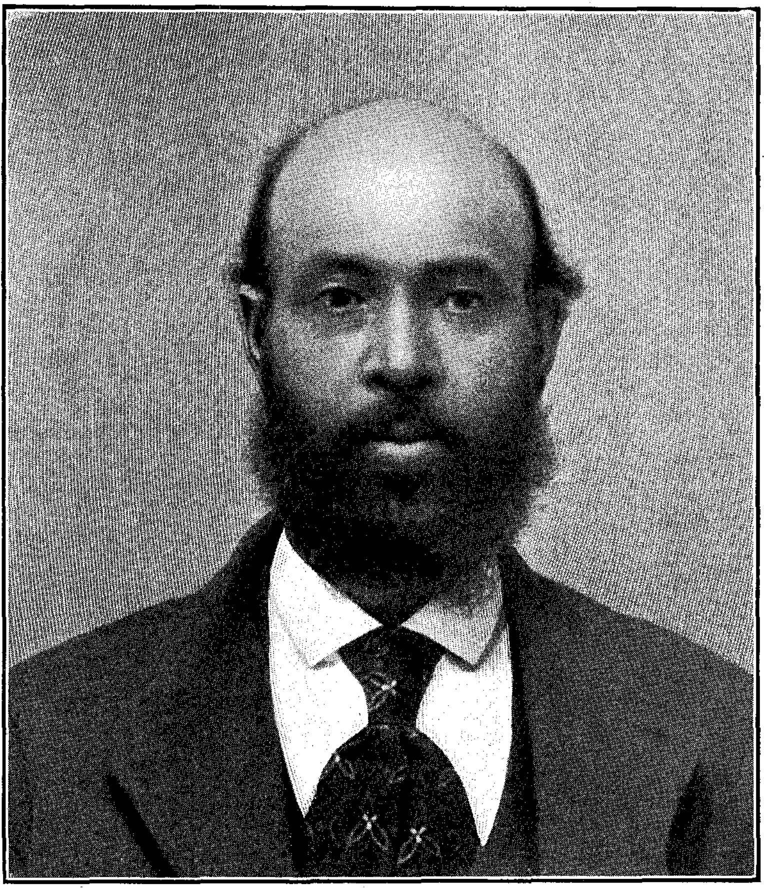
BILL ALLEN AMONG HIS CATTLE

on credit; and that in all their business relations of recent years they had proved themselves just as reliable and prompt as the white people in the same county, or anywhere in the State. This statement so interested me that I resolved to see this community for myself at the very first possible opportunity, because I had always been anxious to see just what progress in self-government any large number of people of my race could make when left absolutely to themselves and given the advantage of the climate and location that the average white man in America possesses.

In connection with what I am going to say it should be kept in mind that the unit of government in Michigan, as in Massachusetts, is the township—that is, each township has practically complete self-government. Besides this it is entitled to at least one representative on the Board of County Commissioners which controls the affairs of the county.

When I visited Calvin township recently I found that it contained a population of 759 negroes and 512 whites. In addition to these, a large negro population had overflowed into the adjoining township of Porter, and to some extent into all but two of the towns in the county. The county seat of Cass County is Cassopolis. The nearest boundary line of Calvin township is about six miles from Cassopolis.

As I drove, in company with the Hon. L. B. Des Voignes, the probate judge of the county, Mr. Max Bennett Thrasher, a newspaper writer, and Mr. Jesse W. Madrey, the latter one of the most prosperous colored farmers in the county, from Cassopolis in the direction of Calvin township, we soon began going through well-cultivated farms and past comfortable-looking farm-houses. The farms, for the most part, in their general appearance compared favorably with the average farms we saw in Michigan. Many of the houses were large, attractive, and well built. The yards were made beautiful with grass, shrubbery, and flowers. The barns, stock, poultry, and other



CORNELIUS LAWSON

Supervisor of the township of Calvin.

farm attachments were in keeping with everything else that we saw. In our drive of nearly ten hours, in which we covered thirty miles of territory, through Calvin township and a part of Porter, the adjoining township, we saw little to indicate that we were in a negro town except the color of the faces of the people.

They were up to the average of their white neighbors. There are perhaps few townships in the South among the agricultural classes that would compare favorably with this one.

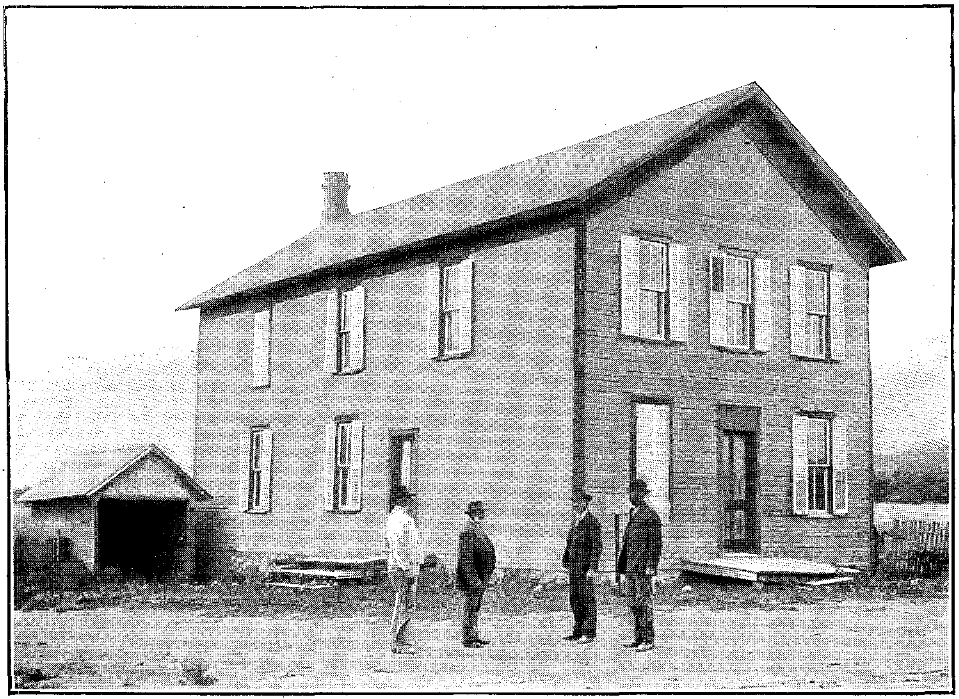
In a few cases it was interesting to see standing on the same premises the small cabin in which the people began life years ago, and then to see near it a modern frame cottage containing six or seven rooms. To me it was interesting and encouraging to note to what an extent these people "lived at home," that is, produced what they consumed. My visit took me through the community during the harvesting season, and at that time most of the farmers were engaged in threshing wheat and oats. On one farm we saw a large, modern steam thresher at work. Around it were employed some twenty men. This complicated piece of machinery was being operated wholly by negroes, and, what was more interesting, was owned by a negro by the name of Henry L. Archer. Mr. Archer not only threshed grain for the negro farmers in his township, but for the white farmers as well.

In speaking of the extent to which these people "keep themselves," I want to say that their home-raised and home-cured pork was, without any reservation, the best I ever tasted. I was particularly struck with this when visiting the home of Mr. Allen, of Porter township, the negro stock-raiser and stock-trader. "Bill" Allen has as high standing for probity and shrewdness among the people in the Chicago stockyards as the average white man. His many well-filled barns and the large number of valuable horses, cows, pigs, and sheep he owns were among the most interesting sights that I saw.

William Allen was born in Logan County, Ohio, but his parents were free colored people from North Carolina. To speak in more detail about Mr. Allen, I found that he owns seven hundred acres of land, and that the taxes which he paid last year in the two townships of Calvin and Porter amounted to $191. When I visited his farm, he had fifty head of cattle, ten horses, three hundred sheep, and twenty-five hogs. All of his property is paid for. Mr. Allen is one of the few men I have heard of as resigning a political office. He was a Justice of the Peace for eighteen years, and resigned because it took too much of his time away from his farm.

It was rather remarkable to learn that Samuel Hawkes, a fine specimen of the race, pays the largest tax of any one, white or black, in the township of Calvin. His tax this year was $154.36. In addition to this, Mr. Hawkes paid over $50 taxes on property which is in his charge as an administrator. He owns about five hundred acres of land, free of encumbrance. He is highly spoken of by every one whom I saw, of both races, including the county officials and the cashier of the bank at Cassopolis, who said his credit was good at that institution. I was told on good authority that Mr. Hawkes is worth $50,000. He has perhaps learned the lesson that not a few white people have learned—not to give in all of their property for the purpose of taxation.

Samuel Hawkes was born in Nottaway County, Virginia, in 1828. In 1837 he moved to Jackson County, Ohio, and remained there until he came to Calvin in 1853. He is entirely a self-made man, beginning work for himself at the age of sixteen, cutting cordwood. He had saved up enough money so that when he came to Calvin in 1853 he was able to buy the eighty acres of land on which he still lives, paying for it $800 in, as he expresses it, "gold and silver." He then went back to Ohio and worked there six years longer before he came to Calvin to live permanently on his farm. For the last quarter of a century Mr. Hawkes has devoted himself to the general manage



THE TOWN HALL IN CALVIN, WITH THE SUPERVISOR, TOWN CLERK, AND TWO OTHERS ment of his property, loaning money, and dealing in real estate.

Cornelius Lawson, the Supervisor for Calvin, is a native of North Carolina, whose parents moved to Cass County after an intermediate residence of some years in Indiana. He has lived in Calvin since 1853. He was elected a Justice of the Peace in 1878, and retained the office until the present year. In 1899 he was elected Supervisor, and has been re-elected every year since. Mr. Lawson is a farmer, and lives about a mile from "The Corner"—the official center of Calvin. He is the first colored man to be elected to the County Board of Supervisors.

It would be difficult for me to give a better idea of the industry and prosperity of these people than can be obtained from reading the following extract from a letter which I received not long after my visit to Cass County. The letter is from one of the most reliable colored men in the county, and, I ought to add, was written with no thought that it was to be published:

> Cassopolis, Michigan, November 3, 1902.
>
> *Mr. Booker T. Washington:*
>
> Dear Friend—I will impose upon your precious time only long enough for you to read this, as no answer is necessary.
>
> I wanted to tell you that I thrashed those stacks of grain that you saw when at our place. Mr. Archer did the thrashing in one day—944 bushels of oats and 884 bushels of wheat. I paid him $41.44. On the 29th I shipped a carload of hogs and sheep of my own raising to Chicago. I received $707.30 for the same. I have 167 sheep left and about 80 head of hogs; this includes all sizes. . . .
>
> Your humble servant,
>
> J. W. Madrey.

I found that there was another colored man in the township, Mr. C. W. Bunn, who owns two sawmills and much other real estate. He is said to be worth $50,000.

In several cases I noticed that the carpets on the floors of the homes of the people were of the home-made kind, but they were handsome and substantial. A considerable number of the colored people in Calvin township own their homes, and many of those who are renting are doing so from negro landowners. In a few cases white people in the county are renting property owned by negroes.

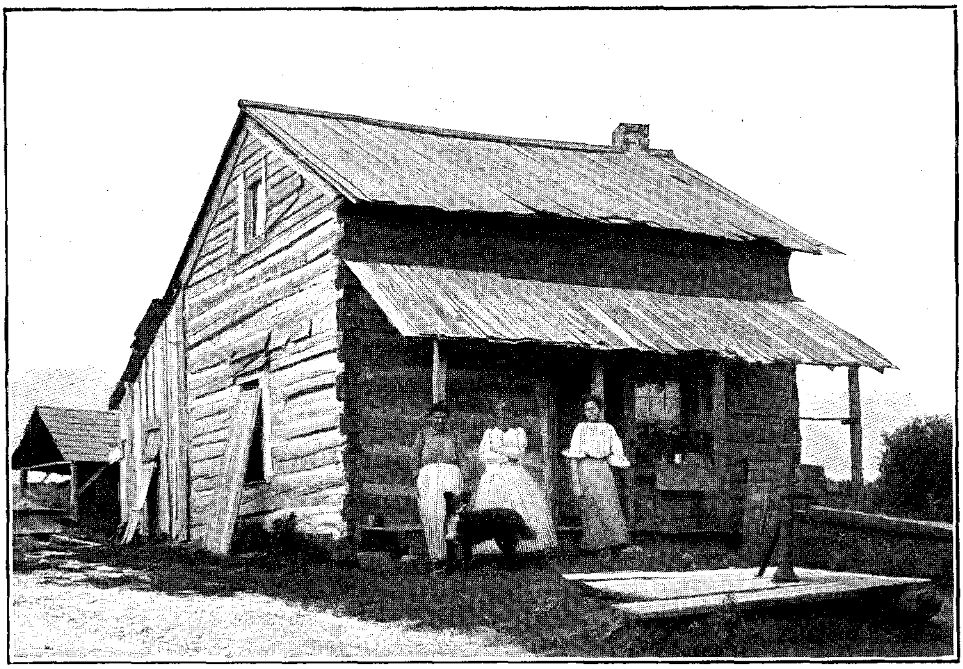
There are, I believe, eight schools in Calvin, four of them taught by colored teachers. Not only are the teachers colored, but the schools are controlled by negro school officials for the most part. As we drove through the township I found a copy of the following notice posted:

> ANNUAL SCHOOL MEETING
>
> State of Michigan
>
> NOTICE is hereby given to the qualified Voters of School District No. 8 of the Township of Calvin that the Annual Meeting of said District will be held at the Schoolhouse on Monday evening, the 1st day of September, A. D. 1902, at 8 o'clock, for the Election of School District Officers, and for the transaction of such other business as shall lawfully come before it.
>
> Dated this 25th day of August, 1902.
>
> C. F. Northrop, Director.

Mr. C. F. Northrop is a negro. So far as I could judge by the appearance of the teachers and the school buildings, they compared favorably with others in that part of the State. In addition to the negro teachers and ministers, there are two negro physicians in the township.

One question that is often debated is as to the ability of the negro for self-government from a political point of view, and I was extremely anxious to get information on this. In Calvin township in 1900 there were 759 negroes and 512 whites. I made diligent inquiry to ascertain if there was any friction between the two races, and could find no evidence that there was. Judge Des Voignes and other county officers informed me that there were no reports of cheating at the ballot-boxes, and that the affairs of the township were conducted as well politically as any in the county. For some years, the Judge said, it had been the boast of the negro tax collector of Calvin that he was one of the first collectors to secure and pay into the county treasury all of the township taxes. On one recent occasion it was said that when another town was trying to beat Calvin in this, and the Calvin tax-gatherer's report was delayed, largely through the tardiness of one negro taxpayer, whose tax was only three dollars, rather than have Calvin lose its reputation for promptness a number of the public-spirited negroes "chipped in" and paid the tax of the delinquent.

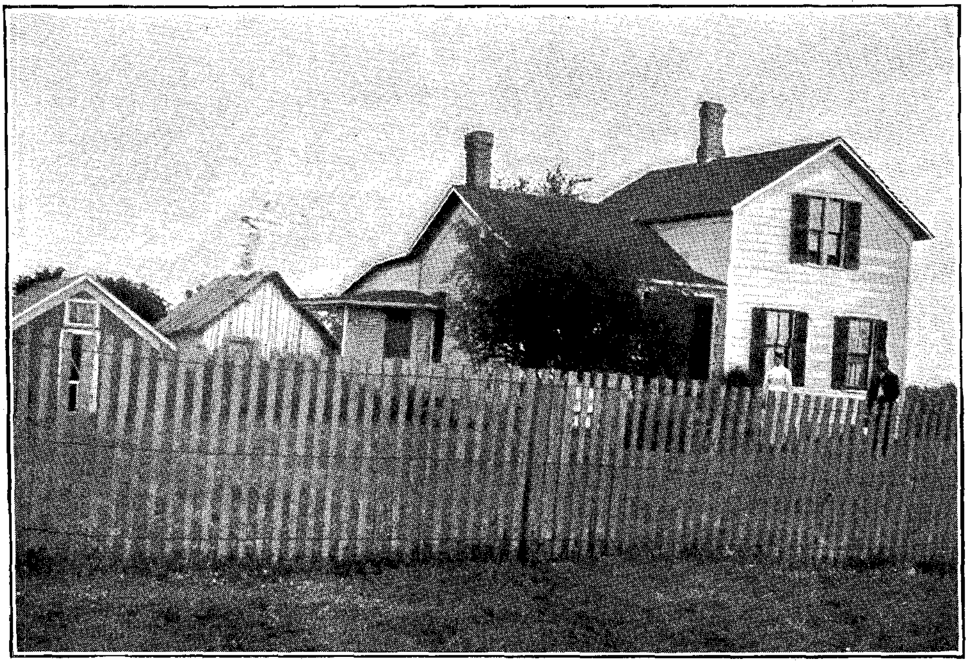
Each township in the county is entitled to one representative on the County Board of Commissioners which has the control of the affairs of the entire county. The representative of Calvin is a black man, and I was told by several white people of the county that the negro Commissioner



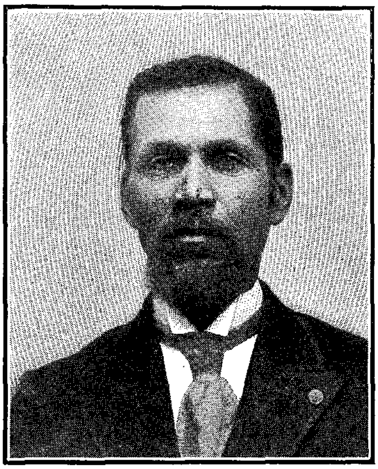
THE HOUSE IN WHICH MATTHEW ARTIS LIVED FORTY YEARS AGO

voted intelligently and conservatively. So far as I could find evidence, there had never been in the township any "scandal" growing out of the misuse of money by public officials, notwithstanding, as I have said, that each township levies and collects its own taxes for schools and other public enterprises.

I was a little curious to see to what extent the colored people took interest in



THE HOUSE OF MATTHEW ARTIS, JR , WHO HAS KEPT WHAT HIS FATHER LEFT HIM AND HAS ADDED TO IT the large National questions. I asked a good many of them how they stood on the question of reducing the tariff on Cuban sugar. In spite of the fact that Michigan is producing much beet sugar, I found that most of the colored people in this township were in favor of helping Cuba, and they were not slow to give their reasons. Later I found out from the rural free delivery mail-carrier that forty daily papers were taken in the township.



ABNER R. BYRD

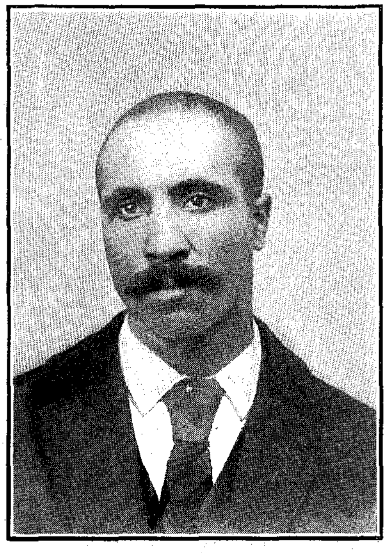
Town Clerk of Calvin.

Some years ago a certain Congressman who represented that district in Congress got into the habit of coming to Calvin whenever an election was pending, to speak to his colored constituents, but instead of discussing the broad National questions of the day he would "jolly" the colored people. They stood it for a while, and then they let him know, in no uncertain way, that if he wanted to speak to them he must discuss public questions in the same manner that he did in other portions of his district.

The seat of government for the township is the town hall, which is located near the center of the township. It is here that the town officials have their offices. The principal business of the town is transacted through the town meeting, very much after the manner in New England.

I was informed by several reliable white men of the county that there had never been any trouble worth mentioning growing out of political differences. When the war between the States broke out, as soon as colored soldiers were permitted to enlist, practically every negro man in the township who was eligible enlisted and went to the front. As a result, there is a Grand Army Post in Calvin named Matthew Artis Post, in honor of one of the old settlers and soldiers. The Grand Army Post meets in a hall on the second floor of the town house. The present commander of the Post is Bishop Curtis, who was a member of the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Regiment. It is said that he was wounded by the same shell that killed Robert Gould Shaw.[1] The post has been established twelve years, and is in a flourishing condition.

There are three churches in the township, two of which I saw—one an African Methodist and the other a Baptist. One of these was established in 1853 and the other in 1854. Both of these congregations have neat and attractive buildings. Although I had caused word to be sent ahead of me that I did not want to make any address to the people, but simply wanted to be permitted to visit them on their farms and in their homes, and thus see them when they were not on dress parade, I found that when our party reached the Methodist church rather late in the evening we were welcomed by a brass band composed of young men living in the community, and it seemed to me that the whole township had assembled. Nothing but a short address would satisfy them. The most general complaint that I heard at this meeting, and from several individual farmers with whom I talked, was to the effect that the young men were too



MATTHEW ARTIS

Treasurer of Calvin Township.

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[1] To whose memory the very beautiful and famous monument by the American sculptor St. Gaudens has been erected on Boston Common.

much inclined to leave the township and go to the large cities.

In my inspection of their church houses there were two things that specially pleased me. One was the fine and neat appearing parsonage which stood near the Chain Lake Baptist Church; the other was the appearance of the graveyard near the same building. The church house, the parsonage, and the graveyard gave one a picture which made him feel that he was in a Massachusetts village. The graveyard was laid out in family plots, and most of the graves had marble slabs or headstones. There were evidences that the burial-place received systematic care.

I thought that it would prove of interest and value to get the opinions of some of the prominent white people of Cass County as to what they thought of the members of my race in Calvin. With this end in view several of the leading men in Cassopolis, the county seat—a beautiful, substantial town of several thousand inhabitants—were consulted, and the following questions were at some point in the conversation asked of each one of five men interviewed:

How does the material condition of the colored people of Calvin compare with that of twenty years ago?

How does it compare with that of their white neighbors?

How do the moral conditions compare?

What is the nature of the relations between the two races?

Do many of the colored people move away, and if so, why, and where?

Have they contributed as much towards the prosperity of the county as the other residents?

Do you know of any other colored community so prosperous?

In criminal offenses in the township do the colored people assist the officers willingly? In other words, does civic pride outbalance race sympathy?

HOUSE OF J. C. EARLY IN CALVIN

Judge L. B. Des Voignes, who has been Judge of Probate of Cass County for six and a half years, and previous to that was Prosecuting Attorney, said:

"The material condition of the people has greatly improved in the last twenty years. They have more wealth, better farms and homes—they live better. Their conditions have kept parallel with the whites. Considering their opportunities, they have advanced. Their moral condition has improved very much. There has been a great decrease in criminal conditions during the last twenty years.

Calvin does not give us—the courts—as much trouble now as some of our white communities. There is increased membership in churches, and increased attendance at schools. There is more desire for education. There are six schools in Calvin in which white and black go together. The relations of the two races are mutually pleasant.

"I do not recall any instance where white residents of the township have objected to colored people buying land there. I do not think there is any depreciation in the price of land. To a stranger buying land the colored residents might be an objection; but I do not think it would be to those who know the colored people of Calvin. A slightly larger proportion of the young people go away to the cities of South Bend, Elkhart, Dowagiac, Niles, etc. They go because they can earn more money.

"The colored residents have helped to contribute to the prosperity of the county, considering the opportunities they have had and the length of time they have had to earn money. There is a prosperous colored community in Volunia which is frugal, etc. This is small, though, not more than one hundred persons, and might, perhaps, be called a part of this. There are colored residents in several of the townships in Cass County. The treasurer of Calvin was one of the first to report the payment of every tax in the town. The better element, the property-owning class, are quick to assist in the conviction of criminals."

Mr. Charles O. Harmon, clerk of the county, was born in Porter township, and grew up among these people. He taught his first term of school in the Mount Zion school-house. Mr. Harmon said:

"There is practically no difference in the material condition of the people of the two races in Calvin. They are more prosperous than twenty years ago, particularly in having better farms and better houses. The moral condition is equal or nearly equal to that of the whites. There is a low and illiterate class, but not large considering the opportunities of the people. They take advantage of their opportunities as much as the whites. They are quick to take advantage of improvements, such as the telephone and improved machinery. There has been great improvement morally in the last twenty years.

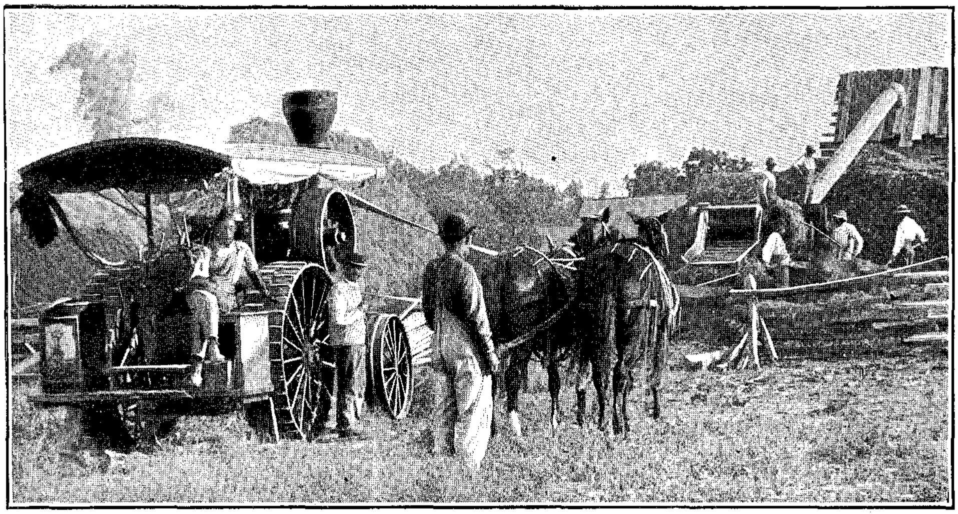
"Some of the best people of the county live in Calvin and mingle with these people in a business way with no distinction. I do not think that the fact of the colored settlers being there is considered any detriment to the community, although white people from communities which have no colored settlers might be averse to buying land there. Certainly land does not sell for any less there. The land in Calvin is among the best in the county. The merchants of Cassopolis find these people extra good customers. That may be one criticism to make—that they buy too freely for their own good. As a general thing, though, they are good pay, and take a pride in meeting their obligations.

"They have, probably, helped the county as much as could be expected of any people with their opportunities. I should say that they have helped in this way only during the last ten years. The tendency in this respect is good. The present colored Supervisor is the first colored man to hold this office. He is an able man in official work. He is a member of the county Committee of Equalization, and of the Committee of Public Grounds and Buildings. He was a delegate from the last County Board to the State Board of Equalization of Taxes, at Lansing."

Mr. C. C. Nelson is an undertaker in Cassopolis, who does most of the work in his line in Calvin. He has lived in Cass County for sixty years, and has been postmaster, sheriff, and overseer of the poor. He said in substance:

"There is no township in Cass County that has made so much improvement in the last twenty or twenty-five years as Calvin has. The people were once haphazard and lawless. At one time Calvin furnished two-thirds the court business of the county. That is past now. They have improved more, proportionately, than the whites. As a rule, the whites feel friendly towards them; better than formerly. People who know them make no objection to them. People who live in Calvin would not sell their land there any cheaper because of the colored population. Probably more of the young people go away. They put civic pride before race pride."

The Hon. L. H. Glover is a prominent



STEAM THRESHER OWNED AND OPERATED BY HENRY L. ARCHER, A COLORED MAN, THRESHING A COLORED FARMER'S GRAIN

Democratic lawyer of Cassopolis, and has been a Justice of the Peace there since 1862. He said: "The first generation of settlers were fine men—none better. The second generation was bad. The third shows a very marked improvement. But through it all the best men have supported the law unfailingly. There is a steady improvement morally, and this compares favorably with that of the whites. There is no social mingling, but otherwise the relations of the races are entirely friendly. I do not know of more than a dozen marriages of whites and blacks in the entire county. So far as prejudice towards the colored residents of the county is concerned, the farther away people live, the greater the prejudice. As they approach, it grows less. These people have contributed as much to the prosperity of the county as ought to be expected of them."

Mr. Allison, the proprietor and editor of the Democratic paper in Cassopolis, practically confirmed all of Mr. Glover's opinions. Mr. Allison, like Mr. Glover, has lived in the county for many years, and knows the colored residents well.

As I mingled with the white people and tried to draw them out freely, I got the idea pretty strongly that while they saw the weak points as well as the strong ones in this interesting little African colony, yet, on the whole, the whites were very proud of Calvin township and watched its development with deep interest and not a little satisfaction. In the story of this development there is nothing startling or remarkable. It is simply the story of the growth of a people when given the American chance to grow naturally and gradually. With the negro, whether considered as individuals or in groups, I find that the bearing of responsibility is one of the chief essentials of growth.

An Open Fire

By Frank Dempster Sherman

For ages, dreaming in the coal,
Has slept in earth the shining soul
Which waking brings to Winter's night
Some ancient Summer's warmth and light.

PHOTOGRAPH BY GESSFORD

Major-General Francis V. Greene

New York's new Police Commissioner, General Greene, by his prompt and firm action justified his appointment by Mayor Low within a week of taking office. His vigorous action in sending back to posts as patrolmen the wardmen, who, as every one knows, have always been the personal agents of the captains in collecting blackmail, showed that General Greene was not afraid to take radical steps. This has been followed by other equally vigorous actions. General Greene is a West Point graduate, was an instructor in the Military Academy for a short time, was a military attaché at St. Petersburg for two years, and served with distinction in the war with Spain, both in Cuba and the Philippines. At the close of the war he was promoted to the rank of Major-General. He has written on military subjects. Recently he has been president of the Asphalt Company of America.

"Livin'-Out Girls"

By Alice Ward Bailey

WHEN William Edson came home to supper that night, his wife met him with a troubled face. "What's the matter, Fanny?" he inquired, briskly. Edson and his wife were like the little figures in the thermometer which emerge alternately; her cloudy weather made his fair.

"*Annie's gone*," was the reply. Emphasis took the place of eloquence.

"Gone where?" inquired William, with increasing cheerfulness.

"Gone to Nora. I knew when Nora left and sent Annie that Annie'd go in the same way. These 'livin'-out girls,' as they call themselves, are all just alike. And here it is midwinter, and Aunt Martha coming."

"But," pursued William, trying hard to understand, "what does Nora want of Annie up at Mike Shay's? Is she going to tend the baby?"

"Why, William, I told you weeks ago that Nellie's baby died and Nora went to Hartford."

"So Annie's gone to Hartford with Nora."

"Of all the men! Why, Nora's *dead*."

"Nora *dead!* Why on earth didn't you say so?" exploded William, his amiability finally giving way beneath the strain imposed upon it. "What happened to her? Poor Nora! Who brought the news?"

"Mike Shay," replied Fanny, still speaking in an aggrieved tone. "Mrs. Elkins was here making a call. We thought we heard something, a sort of moan, but I thought it was out on the street. It sounded like an animal that has been hurt. Mrs. Elkins said it came from the kitchen, and after a while when it kept on I went out there. It was Annie. She was rocking back and forth and crying, and Mike was trying to make her keep still; but you know how those people are, so emotional. I told her she had better wait until to-morrow, until the body comes up, but she *would* go *now*. The funeral isn't till day after to-morrow, and with the wake and all she won't be fit for anything for a week, if she comes back at all, which I doubt. I haven't a particle of faith in one of them. Are you ready for supper? There's a letter from Harold."

"Is there? What does he say?" Edson stretched out a long arm and seized the letter from his boy.

Very different became the tolerant, easy-going husband of Fanny when merged in the father of Fanny's son. Alert and watchful, he read every word of the closely written pages in his hand.

He laid them down with a sigh which told of desire stimulated rather than satisfied.

"He's doing well in his studies," he said with pride; "any one can see that; but I wish he'd tell us more of himself. He's an awfully reserved chap." He sighed again as he rose from his chair.

"Are you ready for supper?" repeated his wife. She was as noncommittal as her offspring; but when Fanny did not reveal the inner workings of her mind, it was safe to question their existence. So her husband assured himself as he answered briefly, "Shall be in a minute."

He walked slowly upstairs, removing his collar and tie as he went; his thoughts reverted to Nora. "Poor girl, it's too bad," he murmured. "She was a good girl, a first-rate cook and a fine laundress." The words brought a smile. One would think he was recommending the girl to service in another state similar to that which had occupied her here.

"Supper's ready," called Fanny at the foot of the stairs.

"And a good supper, too, I know," he responded, rubbing his hands with anticipation as he entered the dining-room.

"I've only put together some odds and ends," exclaimed Fanny, with a toss of the head. "You'll have to make a fire in the morning, and fill the teakettle, and set on the oatmeal." It was some comfort to show William another side of the picture.

It was a side which obtruded itself upon his recognition the following evening when he found Fanny in bed with a headache and the dinner dishes unwashed.

"How would it do to get Mary Sullivan in for a few days?" he inquired tentatively as he sat on the edge of Fanny's bed and sympathized.

"Now, William, you know," began Fanny, pushing up the bandage which covered one half her face and letting out a pair of inflamed gray eyes.

"Yes, I know," interrupted William; "she had one of your blue china teacups under a stool in her room for a month. She probably carried it up with something in it, and how could she put it back when you kept asking for it? What beats me"— William was growing reckless— "is how you knew it was there."

"We won't argue *that*," replied his wife with dignity, and retired into her bandage again. "If *you* want Mary, you can have her."

"I guess I'll see her," decided William, accepting the concession and ignoring the manner in which it was made. "You just lie right where you are, Fanny. I'll look after everything. Hadn't you better take your drops?"

Fanny took her drops and renounced responsibility; William accepted it and made haste to bestow it upon Mary, whose ample shoulders and broad, benignant brows looked capable of sustaining any load the Edsons might impose.

She'd "come the night if Mr. Edson said the wor-rd, though she was thinkin' of goin' to Nora's wake. Yes, sir, that's Mike Shay's, all lighted up; didn't ye know it was so near? You'd a right to go over, sir," she declared; "Nora is cert'nly the beautifulest corpse I ever set eyes on, I'll say that for her." One would infer that the chief end of man was to become a corpse of some kind, and that Nora had reflected glory upon herself and proved a credit to her friends by the manner in which she had discharged her obligation.

"Were you going over right away?" asked William, with an interested glance in the direction of the ceremonies.

"Yes, sir," replied Mary, cordially. "Would ye like to go along? *Would* ye now, *ray-ly?* Wait a minnit till I put on me shawl."

She threw it quickly over her head and led the way between two high walls of snow to Mike Shay's little house. Modest as it was, it had held the material for more than one tragedy. In that corner room upstairs Mike Shay's mother had shut herself away, refusing to welcome her only son's young bride, and there the old woman had died, stubbornly rejecting all offers of food or assistance. Nora herself, the bride's only sister, had so opposed and hindered the wedding that its progress resulted in an open rupture between the girls, lasting until Nora threw up her situation and hastened to nurse Nellie through that terrible illness when the baby was born and lived one sorrowful day; every moment of it spent in Nora's devoted arms.

The light streamed out from a tall piano lamp, one of Nellie's wedding presents, and fell on rugged faces passing in.

"This way, sir; mind the step," whispered Mary. William followed mutely.

Within the kitchen, through whose open door appeared a vision of a white form lying among flowers, Mary dropped upon her knees with a muttered prayer. William slid into a dark corner, where he was made at home by one of his workmen, Tom McCarty, who greeted him in a loud whisper.

"Yes, sir, it was very suddin," commented Tom in response to William's conventional salutation. "Such a fine lar-rge gur-rl and looked so well; anny one would have taken a lase of her life. No, sir, she wasn't with friends exactly; they was some folks that had come out from home and she wanted to hear. They was tuk sick and she had the care of 'em, and she wasn't well from nursin' Nellie. Whisht, there's Nellie now; she looks more like the dead than the livin'."

Across the vision of the white form among the flowers moved a slender black-robed figure, every line tense with emotion. At its beckoning another black-robed figure arose from a corner and came forward. In the blaze of the candles William recognized Annie. Her hands were full of pipes and tobacco, which she distributed among the men. Mike meanwhile was arranging a huge brown pitcher and some tumblers conspicuously on a table. Both recognized William with a nod and a "Good-avenin', sir," but neither betrayed any surprise. They, and indeed the entire roomful of men and women, appeared to be under a spell. Upon their faces as they went to and fro was a look of exaltation. Under its influence the dingy kitchen, lit by the incongruous "piano lamp," took on the atmosphere of a chapel whose shrine was the inner room with the dead girl and the candles and the flowers. Friends and neighbors continued to arrive, now a workman bending his stiff knees and bowing his head in prayer as he entered, now a woman throwing off the shawl which covered her head and glancing furtively towards the inner room while she fingered her rosary.

William watched them idly; he felt like a spectator at a play, somewhat nearer the footlights than usual, but no more a part of the performance than if he had been by himself in a stall. Suddenly he was thrust into the forefront of the action—himself and one other to whom the kneeling men and women were only a part of the *mise en scène*. Stooping to enter the low doorway came a familiar figure. William clutched the sides of his chair—what was *Harold* doing here?

Without genuflection or prayer, but with a manner which seemed somehow to include both, the young man entered and took an inconspicuous seat. The father's heart beat stormily. He filled the pipe which Annie had given him and steadied his nerves with half a dozen long pulls. Harold in his corner was doing the same. He had not seen his father; indeed, he seemed not to see any one. He was as pale as Nellie herself, and, like her, apparently unconscious of the murmur of voices which had risen since the distribution of pipes and the circulation of the pitcher. The talk ebbed and flowed with gentle insistence, hushed and other-worldly as befitted the occasion and having to do mostly with some one who had died or was about to die. William watched his boy, hearing and not hearing until Mary's husky whisper asserted itself in his ear.

"*She'll follow him soon*," was the announcement, full of mystery and prognostication.

"How d'ye know?" demanded the woman beside her.

"The dhrames she's had," muttered Mary, impressively. "Every night the same, dhramed of an old shoe on the doorstep a-knockin'. '*One'll come for another*,' that's what that manes."

This called out a story from a woman two seats behind, giving rise to a discussion with a man who sat by the door. Then loyalty demanded that they speak again of Nora. "She had the noise of a cold when she wint away," William heard Annie's sweet querulous voice saying, "but we thought nothing of it." She repeated for the twentieth time the few facts known concerning Nora's illness and demise, winding up, as always, "It was very suddin; every one was *struck*."

Again the talk fell back from William's consciousness, elbowed out by the ever-recurring question, "What is Harold doing here?"

Why should he, with his slender means, take the unnecessary journey? why leave the lessons which had more than once kept him from writing home? Why, ah, why? There was only one answer.

How old was Harold when Nora first came to the house?—let us see—sixteen; Nora was two years older, and she stayed four years. That is the impressionable age, when life stirs in the veins and struggles for expression. If a boy is ever going to be romantic, it will be then. And Nora was pretty, she was very pretty.

William tried to remember how he felt when he was sixteen. There had not been much time for nonsense. There were too many chores to do on the farm, and when they were done he was tired enough to go to bed and to sleep. But how would it have been if he had only games for exercise and such stuff as they read in school to think about? The old classics—h-m, one long string of love stories! And it was pretty much the same with modern languages. William grew hot and cold as he recalled the various tales Harold had repeated to his father and mother, translating as he went. Dorothea certainly "worked out" for Hermann's mother.

"Lord have mercy upon us!" shrilled a clear, girlish treble from the inner room.

William jumped.

"Whisht!" whispered Mary over his shoulder. "'Tis the Litany for the Dead. That's Katie Kelly that sings at the church." Down she dropped on her knees and let the wave of prayer sweep over her.

"*Have mercy on the Souls of the Faithful Departed!*"

Like the first violin of an orchestra the clear voice rose higher, and dominated, and led. With a subdued murmur like the sound of many strings and reeds, women's voices and the voices of men followed.

The Three Persons of the Godhead, the Sacred Trinity, she besought—

"*Give rest to the Souls of the Faithful Departed!*" chanted the kneeling men and women.

The Virgin Mary, Angels and Patriarchs, Prophets and Martyrs, she implored—"By her Grace, by their Glory, by all that had been suffered and by all that had been won"—

"*Pray for the Souls of the Faithful Departed!*" responded the women and men.

Back to the Throne rang the cry for mercy and deliverance.

"From the shades of death, from the torments of purgatory, for the welcome of angels, for the rejoicing of prophets, for the escort of martyrs unto seats of eternal glory where the whole Church Triumphant should celebrate the deliverance"—of the girl he would have recommended as a "first-rate cook and a fine laundress."

Why not? She was good and faithful and patient: were not these the main thing? Who should say the boy had not been wiser than his elders in seeing this? Ah, what was life anyway but the avenue to death? Had not these simple folk here solved the problem?

The wind was rising; it rocked the little house and wailed in the chimney; a gust of snow like a winding-sheet went by the window. Heads bent lower, voices grew more insistent, "*Give eternal rest to the Souls of the Faithful Departed!*" then ceased, and through the hush that followed rang the cry of Nellie mourning as only the Gaelic mourn, breaking their full hearts in libation to the dead. "*Ah, Nora, Nora, Nora!*"

William mopped his damp forehead with his handkerchief and nestled uneasily in his chair. Good heavens, how could the boy stand it! His own heart was rent and torn. He searched the corner where Harold sat, pulling away at his pipe again and receiving the pitcher as it passed, gravely, ceremoniously, as one performs a rite. The curling wreaths of smoke which rose around him were incense to that white-robed figure; every glass filled and lifted was a silent pledge to her.

The little kitchen had grown very still. For several minutes the silence lasted; then stories which are never told by day or when the heart is free were recited with impressive shrugs and glances, as who should say, "There may be no truth in it. I give it to you as it was given to me; nevertheless—"

"There are houses at the bottom of Kerry Lake," said Bridget Donohue, she who was known as "Red-headed Bridget" to distinguish her from some eight or ten others of the same name. "You can see 'em on a clare day."

"Did *you* ever see 'em?" inquired Tom McCarty, jocosely, and the ghost of a smile flitted over the faces of those near.

"But I know them that have," retorted Red-headed Bridget, and forthwith made a bolder bid for attention. "There's a priest buried under a church at home, and a girl who went early to mass heard him knockin' entirely," she announced.

"Did they dig him up?" questioned three or four at once.

"Naw," replied Bridget, nonchalantly; "there was no one else heard it. They said it was because slippers were buried wid him in the coffin. It's bad to do tha-at," she drawled. "Besides," she finished, "he was an old man and he had been buried four days," as if this demanded some concession on his part.

The appreciative murmur which followed, part amusement, part applause, encouraged another *raconteuse.* "There was a man who came back to marry a girl at home," began a familiar voice. It couldn't be, yes, it was, cold, indifferent Annie, flushed and stimulated into speech. "She met him an' it was avenin'. She said she was goin' to a dance, an' he wint along. An' there was crowds goin' along. An' he thought he saw folks that had died, but she told him it was somebody else. An' they danced an' danced. An' at midnight the hat was passed for the fiddler, but the young man didn't put in his coin; someway he felt as though he'd better not. An' all at once the girl was *gone,* an' all at once the *life wint out of his bones. An' thin he heard the sound of the Midnight Car—the Midnight Car of the Dead.*"

There was an impressive pause. Tom McCarty's hand trembled as he filled his glass. Who could be sure these stories were false when *that* was true, in there, that silence and chill and emptiness? The cumulative effect of the long watch, the mourning, the prayer, the invoking of the supernatural, was upon each one. For William, clinging dizzily to his seat, it was Harold who had come back, and the dead girl was Nora, and Harold must not "pay the coin;" he must have no commerce with the wild, frenzied crew. William stood up unsteadily and sent a compelling glance towards Harold's corner. The young man turned as if a hand had been laid on his shoulder. William beckoned, but there was no need; Harold was already stepping over Mike as the latter leaned forward to address the man in front of him, and had elbowed a way between Bridget and Annie to gain his father's side. They were soon out in the cool air between the drifts, and quickly gained the street. Then a sudden constraint fell upon William. "I did not expect to see you here," he began awkardly as the two fell into step. Now that there was an opportunity to speak, he did not know what to say. Between them was a wide gulf made by the experiences of the son in which the father had no part.

"No more did I expect to see you," returned Harold, lightly. "I'm glad to be out of that room." There was nothing of the love-lorn youth in his tone or manner.

William's heart gave a great leap. "So am I," he exclaimed, taking his son's arm.

"It was abominably stuffy and hot," continued Harold, with a shrug.

"So it was," cried William. The gulf changed its position; it no longer separated them from each other, but stretched between their kind and what they had left.

"How did you happen to come up?" asked William, in a confidential tone almost not quite concealing his anxiety.

"That's a long story," returned the son, diffidently, and the father's heart sank again.

"I don't know but I shall have to tell you," began Harold, slowly; adding, after a pause, "I felt that I owed this much to Nora."

Again the chasm yawned at their feet, and across it the father leaned to lay a hand upon his boy. Owed it to Nora, indeed!

How like the young that was, forever subordinating the obligations they are born into to the obligations they themselves incur!

"Do you owe your mother and me nothing?" demanded William, in exasperation, stopping to face the lad. "What is this kitchen wench to you, anyway? You forget yourself, you forget your mother and me. What do you mean, sir, what do you mean?"

In the dark eyes that looked back at him, on a level with his own, were agitation and surprise, but no shame.

"Why, Father!" said their owner at last, "why, Father!" and, in spite of strenuous effort, William began to feel himself to be the culprit and this tall young fellow before him to be the judge. "I see I shall have to explain everything," said the boy, and, taking his father's arm with a conciliatory gesture, turned him gently about, and walked with him some paces before he spoke again.

"Do you remember telling me two years ago that you were perfectly willing to have me go to college if some one would advance me the money, but you had no more to spare? And you thought Aunt Martha came to the rescue? It was Nora. She heard us talking," pursued the young man. "She had just quarreled with Nellie, and had to adopt somebody." He paused, with a laugh. "I demurred, but she insisted. Of course I intended to pay her back. I shall pay Nellie and Mike now. I came up partly to talk it over with them, but they evidently know nothing about it, and they are so upset, perhaps it is just as well to wait until I have something. This last year I have taken care of myself, and shall the rest of the time. It was only the first year I had to have help. Do you care very much, Father?"

William was shaking from head to foot. The emotional strain he had been under, the torturing changes from faith to doubt and from doubt to faith, had left him unsteady in body and mind.

"You were all tied up that year," Harold went on, soothingly, "and as blue as you could be. You'd have told me to wait, and I felt that I'd better go right on. Of course I felt mean to take it from a servant"—the gulf yawned again, this time forever, but they were both on the hither side and Nora was not with them—"especially as she would not take a note," he said, regretfully. "But there seemed no other way. I tried every one of your friends; they were all tied up just as you were." He ceased. They were at the home gate. "I won't go in," he said, hurriedly, "and I guess you'd better not say anything to Mother. But, Father, I want to tell you, now that I've begun, I'm getting along *fine*," and, standing there in the moonlight, with folded arms, erect and with his head thrown proudly back, he set forth his plans, talking rapidly and in a low voice, as man to man. William had never in his life admired anything half so much.

"Is it all right?" asked the boy finally, holding out his hand, and William clasped it eagerly.

"Yes, it's all right, all right," he said with fervor. He stood where Harold left him, until he had watched the slender, graceful figure out of sight, then turned with a sigh of absorbing satisfaction and mounted the steps to the house. "He's a good, hard-headed, sensible boy," he said with emotion. From the American of to-day there can come no higher praise.

In the hall he paused to turn up the gas and look at his watch. Horrors! half-past two! What would Fanny say? The bedroom door creaked perfidiously as he entered. "Is that you, William?" murmured the invalid, without opening her eyes. "Isn't it early for a fire?" She was still drowsy with the anodyne.

"Perhaps so," returned William, amiably, resolved to save his explanations until a time when they might be more needed. Cautiously he slid out of his clothes and into his place beside her, too full of the night's adventure for sleep, but glad to lie still and revolve again and again in his mind that last half-hour with Harold.

In an incredibly short time, as it seemed to him, the distant rattle of the kitchen range told him that Mary Sullivan had used the key in the area door which he had left with her, and kitchen fires and breakfasts were to be no more his concern.

All went smoothly until Saturday, and then Annie was again in her place. Sunday afternoon saw the usual "meeting of the clans" in the Edson kitchen.

"They're all there," said William as he returned from a tour of inspection: "Hivites and Hittites, and Perizzites and Jebusites, Sullivanites and McCartys, 'the people from Mesopotamia and from beyond Jordan,' but why is Annie in a bright blue gown, when the others are dressed in dark colors?"

"Don't you know?" returned Fanny. "They always 'carry a dead person's clothes to church,' and that fell to Annie."

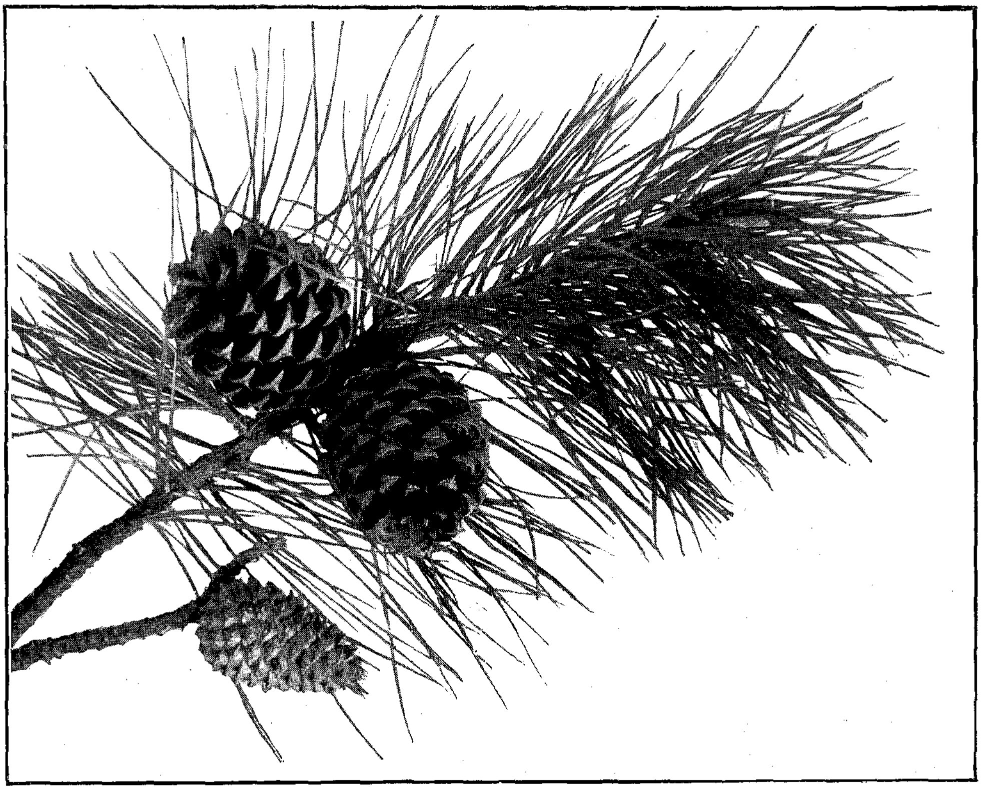
"It was awfully good of her to come back so soon," vouchsafed William, who just then had a tender feeling for the race.

"I'll tell you *why*," rejoined Fanny, unsympathetically. "She *has to go to work*, and the rest of them, to pay for that *show* at Nora's funeral—white silk and bride's roses!" Fanny sniffed contemptuously.

"I told Annie," she continued, "I should have supposed Nora 'd have saved enough to bury herself, but it seems she hadn't. And they all knew it before they launched out in that extravagant fashion! Those 'livin'-out girls' are the silliest, most sentimental, most improvident—"

"Stop!" cried William, sternly. Should he tell her? She would not understand if he did. Somehow he could not bear to have the subject discussed as Fanny was bound to discuss it.

He abruptly left the room.



THE CONES OF THE PITCH PINE

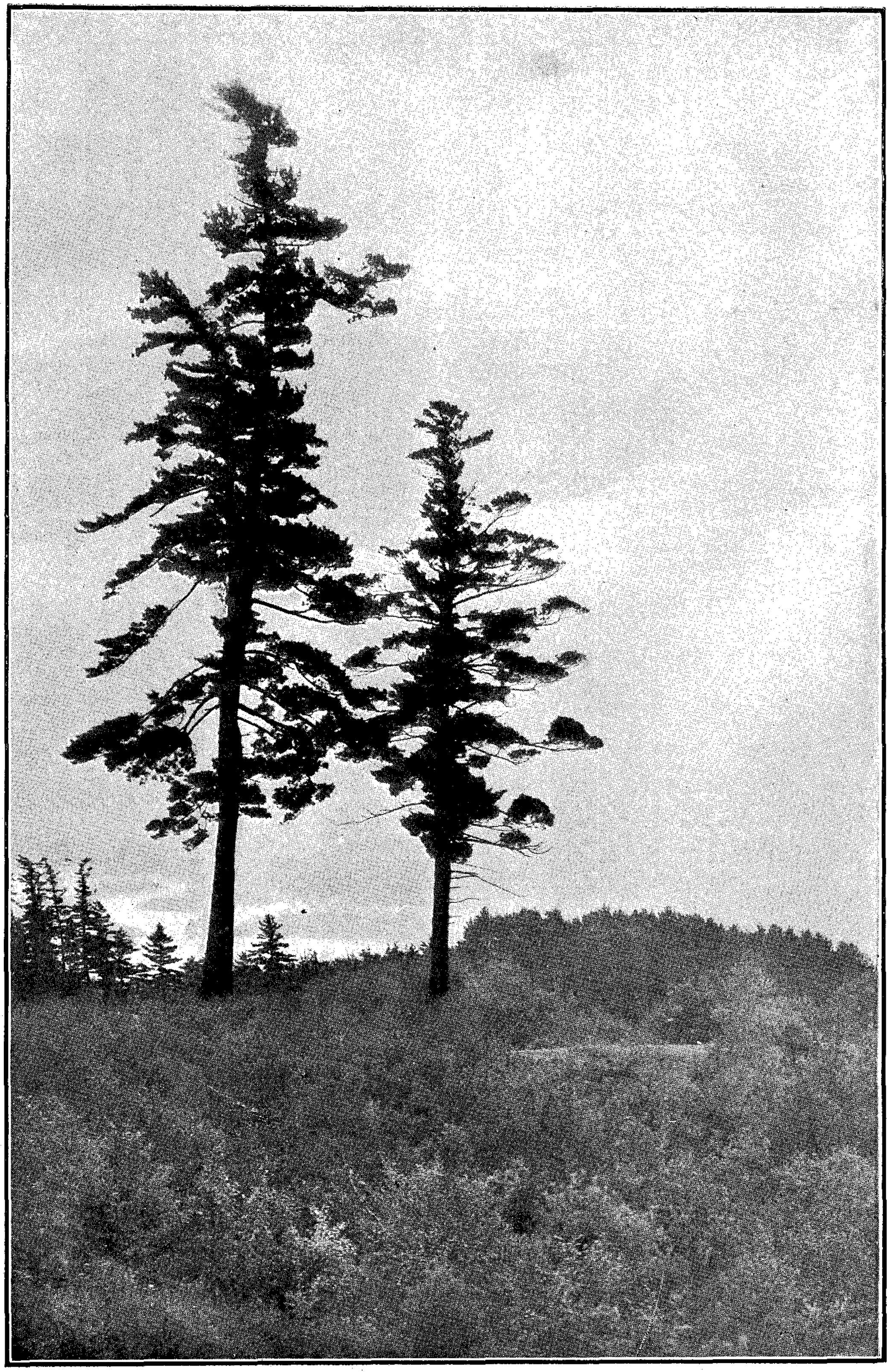
THE PINES

By J. Horace McFarland

Illustrated with Photographs by the Author

IN popular estimation, the pines seem to belong to the North, not quite so exclusively as do the palms to the South. The ragged, picturesque old pines, spruces, and hemlocks of our remembrance carry with them the thought of great endurance, long life, and snowy forests. We think of them, too, as belonging to the mountains, not to the plains, as clothing steep slopes with their varied deep greens rather than as standing against the sky-line of the sea. Yet I venture to think that the most of us in the East see oftenest the pines peculiar to the lowlands, as we flit from city to city over the steel highways of travel, and have most to do, in an economical sense, with a pine that does not come north of the Carolinas—the yellow pine which furnishes our familiar house-flooring.

The pine family as we discuss it is not all pines, in exactitude—it includes many diverse trees that the botanist describes as conifers. These cone-bearing trees are nearly all evergreens—that is, the foliage persists the year round, instead of being deciduous, as the leaf-dropping maples, oaks, birches, and the like are scientifically designated. Historically the pines are of hoary age, for they are closely related to the growths that furnished the geologic coal measures stored up in the foundations of the earth for our use now. Economically, too, all the pine family together is of vast importance—"the most important order of forest trees in the economy of civilized man," says Dr. Fernow, for, as he adds, the cone-bearing trees "have furnished the bulk of the material of which our civilization is built." As usual, civ-



VETERAN PINES ON THE SHORE OF LAKE CHAMPLAIN

THE LONG-LEAVED PINES OF THE SOUTH

ilization has destroyed ruthlessly, thoughtlessly, almost viciously, in using this material, wherefore the devastation of the forests, moving them back from us farther and farther until in many regions they are but a thin fringe, has left most of us totally unfamiliar with these trees, of the utmost beauty as well as of the greatest value.

To know anything at all of the spruces, pines, and hemlocks is to love them for the refreshment there is in their living presence rather than to consider them merely for the timber value. But the point of view differs immensely with one's occupation. I remember one summer finding in the depths of an Allegheny forest a comparatively rare, and then new to me, native orchid, the round-leaved or orbicular habenaria. While I was gloating over it with my camera, a gray-haired nature-lover of the neighborhood joined me, and he, to my surprise, assisted in the gloating—he, too, loved the woods and the plants. Coming a little later to a group of magnificent hemlocks, with great clean, towering trunks reaching up a hundred feet through the soft maples and yellow birches and beeches which seemed dwarfed by these veterans, I exclaimed in admiration. "Yes," he said, "them's mighty fine hemlocks. I calc'late thet one to the left would bark near five dollars' wuth!" On the rare plant we joined in appreciation, but the hemlock was to the old lumberman but a source of tan-bark.

This search for tannin, by the way, is responsible for much wanton destruction. Young hemlocks, from four to six inches in diameter, are felled, stripped of their bark, and left cumbering the ground, to invite fire and to make of the woods an unkempt cemetery. The fall of a tree from natural causes is followed by the interesting and beauty-making process of its mossy decay and return to the forest floor, furnishing in the process nourishment for countless seedlings and plants. A tree felled in maturity under enlightened forest management is all removed for its timber, and leaves the ground clear; but the operations of the bark-hunter leave only hideous destruction and a "slash" that is most difficult to clear in later years.

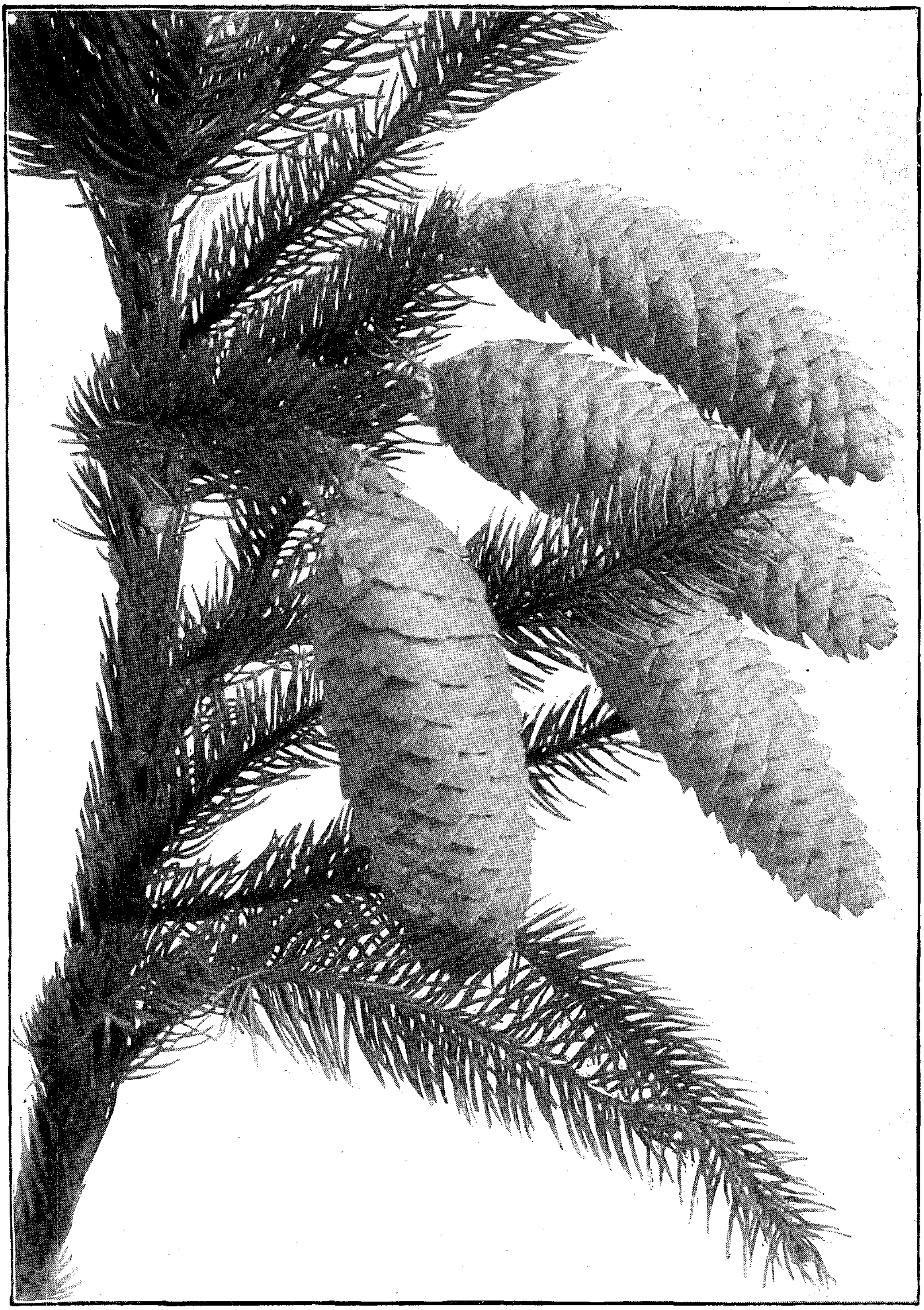
This same hemlock makes a most impressive forest. To walk among primeval hemlocks brings healing to the mind, peace to the soul, as one realizes fully that "the groves were God's first temples," and that God is close to one in these beneficent solitudes, where petty things must fall away, vexations cease, and man's spiritual nature absorb the message of the forest.

I wonder how many of my readers realize that an exquisite bit of real hemlock forest lies not five miles from Boston Common? At the Arnold Arboretum, that noble collection of trees and plants, "Hemlock Hill," is assuming deeper majesty year after year as its trees gain age and size.

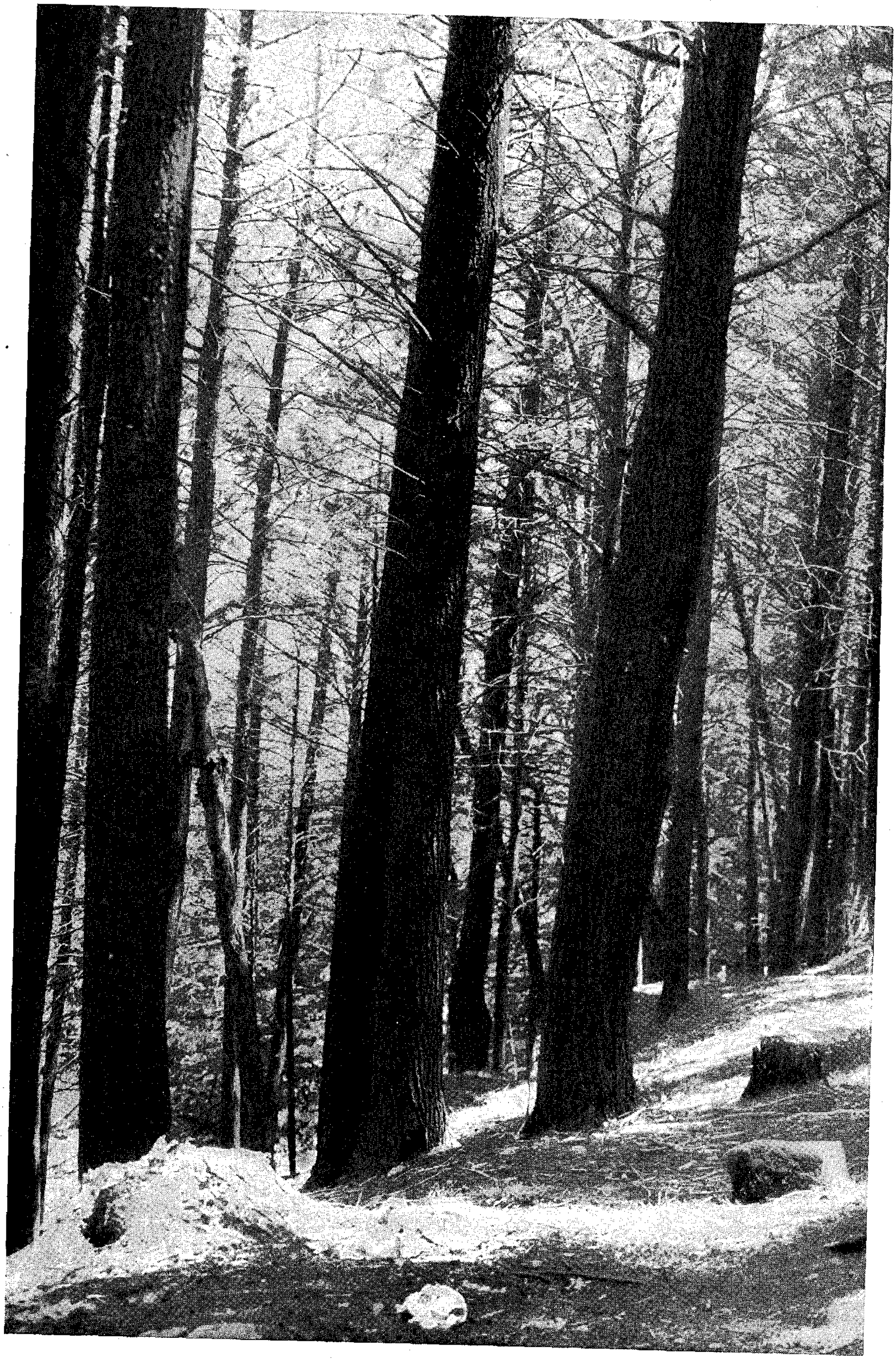
The pines themselves will well repay any investigation and appreciation. Seven species are with us in the New England and Middle Atlantic States, seven more are found South, while the great West, with its yet magnificent forests, has twenty-five pines of distinct character. The white pine is perhaps most familiar to us, because of its economic importance, and it is as well the tallest and most notable of all those we see in the East. From its first essay as a seedling, with its original cluster of five delicate blue-green leaflets, to its lusty youth, when it is spreading and broad, if given room to grow, it is a fine object, and I have had some thrills of joy at finding this splendid common thing planted in groups on the grounds of wealthy men, instead of some Japanese upstart with a name a yard long and a truly crooked Oriental disposition! In age the white pine dominates any landscape, wearing even the scars of its long battle with the elements with stately dignity. A noble pair of white pines on the shore of Lake Champlain I remember especially—they seemed to satisfy one utterly as they towered above all other trees. And a group of them that stood close to some only less picturesque red pines on the shores of a pond deep in the Adirondacks emphasized again for me the majesty of this beneficent friend of mankind.

I am ashamed to say I have never seen the blossoms of the white pine, which the botanists tell us come in early spring, minute and light brown, to be followed by the six-inch-long cones which mature the second year. Next spring I hope to see these shy blossoms with my camera.

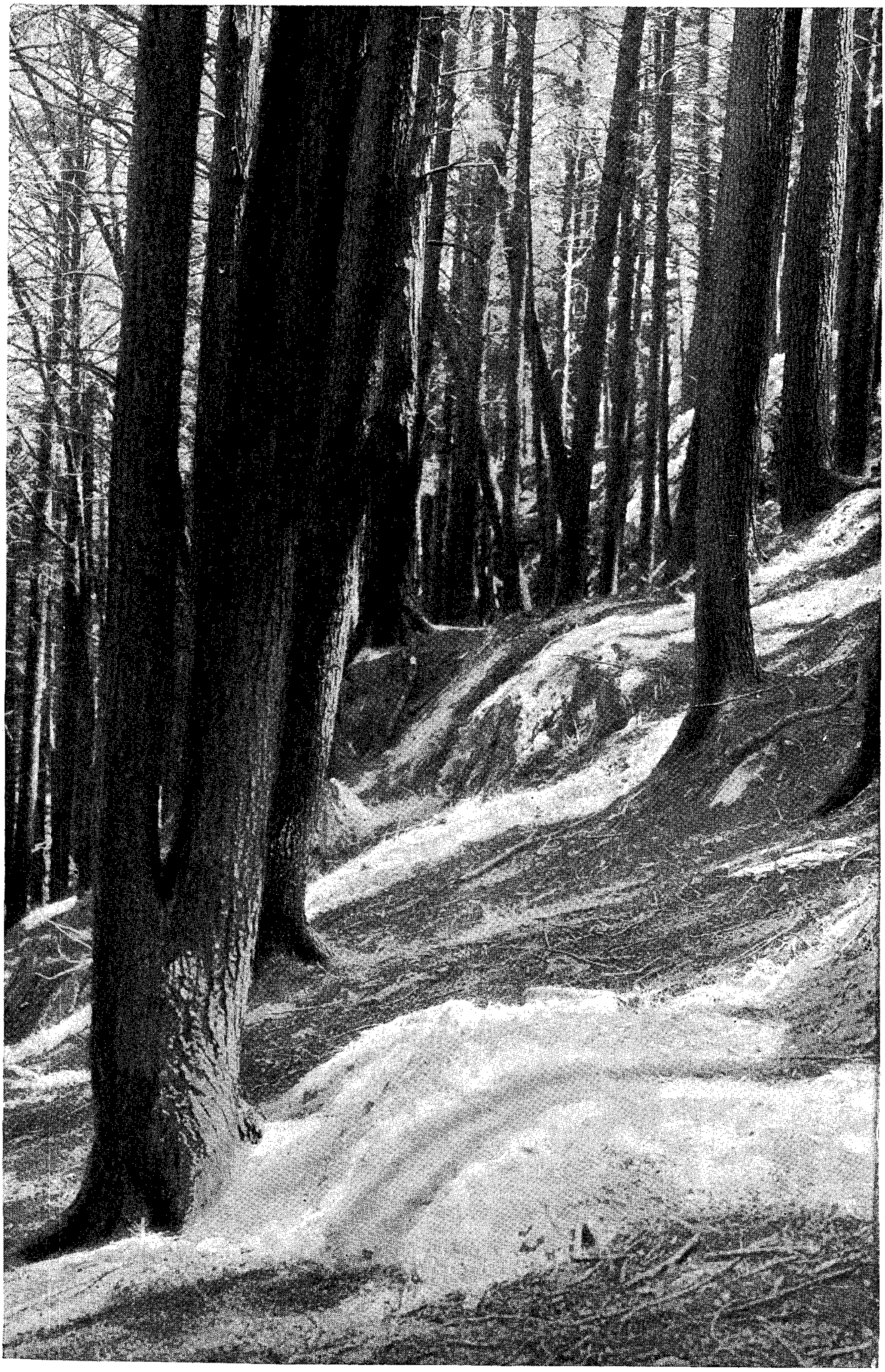
Any one who has traveled south of



CONES OF THE NORWAY SPRUCE



A HEMLOCK FOREST IN THE



ARNOLD ABORETUM, NEAR BOSTON

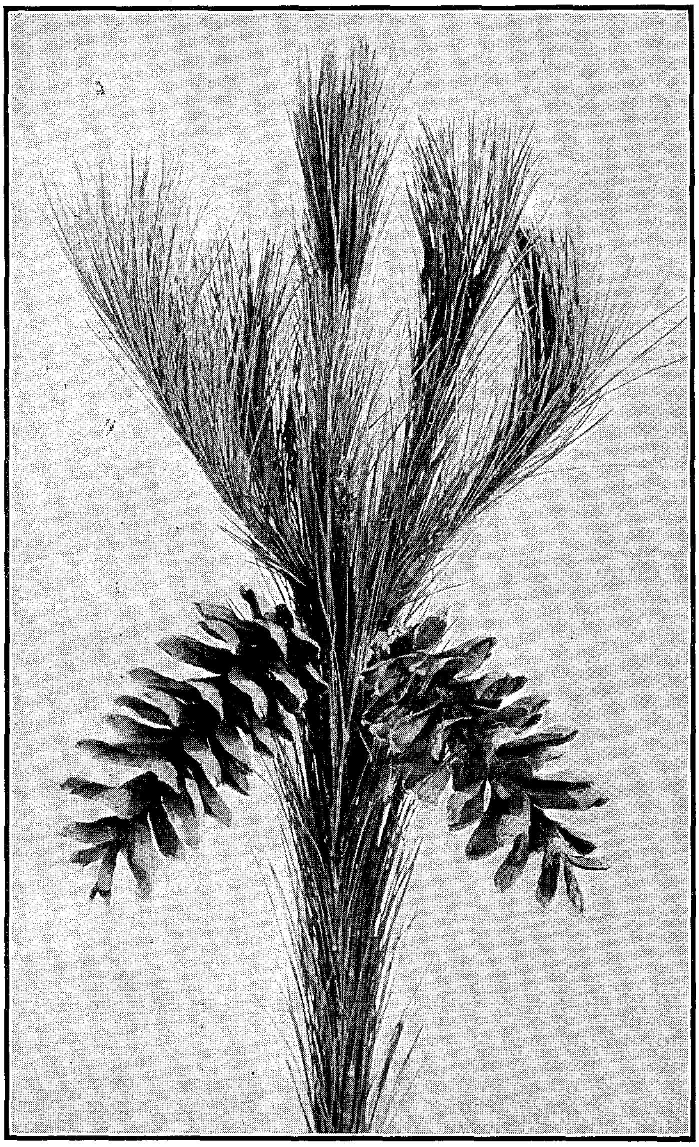
THE WHITE SPRUCE

Virginia, even by the Pullman way of not seeing, cannot fail to have noted the lovely green leaf-fountains springing up from the ground along the railroad. These are the young trees of the long-leaved or Southern yellow pine. How beautiful they are, with the leaves of vivid green, more than a foot long, drooping gracefully from the center outward, with none of the stiffness of our Northern species! We of the North are helping to ruin the next generation of Southern pines by lavish use, for decorations, of the young trees of about two feet high, crowded with the long drooping emerald needles. The little cut-off pine lasts a week or two, in a parlor—it took four or five years to grow!

All pine cones are interesting, and there is a great variation between the different species. The scrub pine one sees along the railroads between New York and Philadelphia has rather stubby cones, while the pitch pine, beloved of the fire-place for its "light-knots," has a somewhat pear-shaped and gracefully disposed cone. A most peculiar cone is that of a variety of the Norway pine, which, among other species brought from Europe, is valued for ornament. The common jack pine of the Middle States hillsides wears symmetrical and handsome cones with dignity. Cones are, of course, the fruits or seed-holders of the pine, but the seeds themselves are found at the base of the scales or parts of the cones, attached in pairs. Each cone, like an apple, has in its care a number of seeds.

The nurserymen have imported many pines from Europe, which give pleasing variety to our ornamental plantings, and aid in enriching the winter coloring. The Austrian pine and the Scotch pine are welcome additions to our own pine family. In these days of economic chemistry and a deficient rag supply, every reader of these words is probably in close proximity to an important spruce product—paper. The manufacturers say they do not use much wood pulp, but when one has passed a great paper-mill flanked on all sides by piles of spruce logs, with no bales of rags in sight anywhere, he is tempted to think otherwise. Modern forestry is now planting trees on waste lands for the pulp "crop," and the common poplar is coming in to relieve the spruces.

Beautiful trees are these spruces and firs, either in the forest or when brought by the planter to his home grounds. The leaves are much shorter than those of most pines, and clothe the twigs closely. There is a vast variety in color, too, from the wonderful whitish or "glaucous" blue of the Colorado blue spruce, to the deep shining green of Nordmann's fir, a splendid introduction from the Caucasus. Look at them, glistening in the winter sun, or drooping with the clinging snow; walk in a spruce wood, inhaling the bracing balsamic fragrance which seems so kindly to the lungs; listen to the music of the wind in their tops, telling of health and purity, of God's love and provision for man's mind and heart, and you will begin to know the song of the firs.



A VARIETY OF THE NORWAY PINE

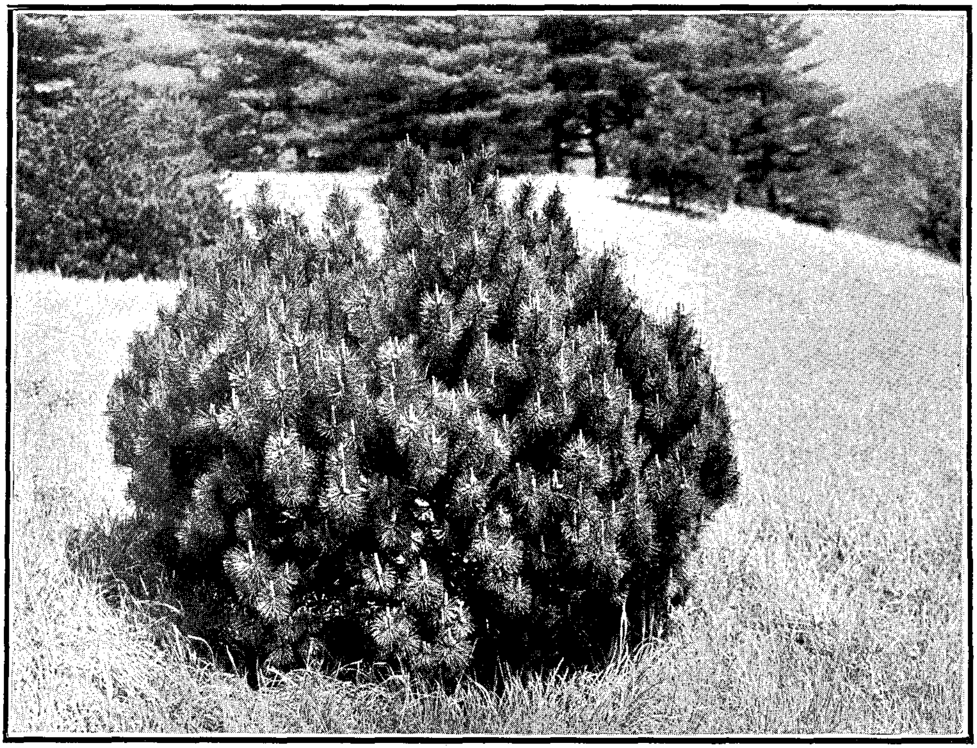
Sometimes the deepest, glossiest green of the spruce leaves as presented to the eye but hides the daintiest, white-lined interior surface of those same leaves. To the outside, a somber dignity, unassailable, untouched by frost or sun, protective, defenseful, as nature often appears to the careless observer; but inside is light, softly reflected, revealing unsuspected delicacies of structure and finish.

To us who are not woodsmen or "timber-cruisers" the most familiar of all the spruces is the introduced form from Norway. Its yellowish-green twigs are bright and cheerful, and in specimens that have reached the fruiting age, the crown of cones, high up in the tree, is an additional charm, for these soft brown "strobiles," as the botanist calls them, are smooth and regular, and very different from those of the rugged pines. I have often been told that the Norway spruce was short-lived, and that it became unkempt in age, but now that I have lived for ten years and more beside a noble specimen, I realize that the change from the upreaching push of youth to the semi-drooping sedateness of maturity is only a new dignity and beauty.

The balsam fir is almost indistinguishable from the Norway spruce when young, but soon grows apart from it in habit, and is hardly as desirable, even though a native. It is rich in the true balsamic odor.

The white cedar, our common juniper, with its aromatic blue berries or fruits, is perhaps the most familiar of all the native evergreens. Its lead-pencil sister, the red cedar, reaches our literary senses as closely as does the pulp-making spruce.

I might write much of the rare introduced cypresses from Japan and China, and of the peculiar variations that have been worked out by the nurserymen among the native pines and firs. Also, if I had but seen them, there would be much to say about the magnificent conifers of the great West, from the giant redwoods or sequoias of the Mariposa grove in California to the richly varied pines of the Rockies. But I can only suggest to my readers the intimate consideration of all this great pine family, so peculiarly valuable to mankind.

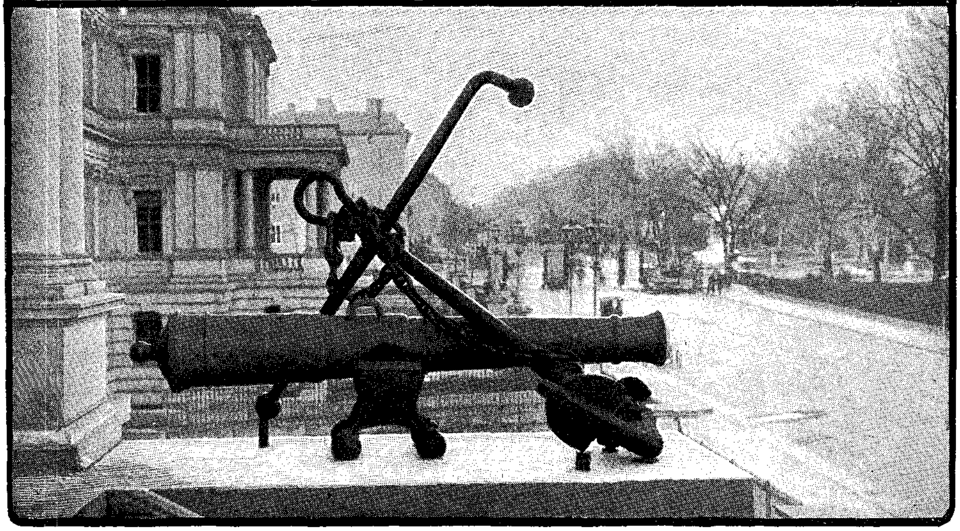


A DWARF FORM OF THE MOUNTAIN PINE

THE NEW AMERICAN NAVY

BY JOHN D. LONG

SECRETARY OF THE NAVY FROM 1897 TO 1902



THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE NAVY

GREAT results often overshadow and prevent due recognition of the merit and vital importance of the preparations which make possible their achievement. The navy, triumphant in battle, is a very different thing in the eye of an admiring country from the same navy preparing for the conflict. In one scene the actors are the picturesque and glorious fighters on deck; in the other, the bureau chief at his desk, the constructor in his shirt-sleeves, the forger of the great guns, the painstaking official providing his great coal-pits at easy reach. We laud the successful captains; too often we forget the men who made ready at their hands the material that made their victory sure. The names of Preble, Hull, Decatur, Porter, Farragut, and Dewey are resplendent names on the pages of our history, but who recalls or knows the names of the Congressmen who secured the authorization of the ships on board which these heroes won their way to immortality, or of the naval officials who designed and built and equipped them, and on whose shoulders the final responsibility for the conduct of vessels and crews in hostile operations largely rests?

The first war Secretary of the Navy was Benjamin Stoddert, of Maryland, who administered the service during the quasi-war with France. Robert Smith, of Maryland, sent to the Mediterranean the forces which humbled the Barbary States and enforced respect for American citizenship. Paul Hamilton, of South Carolina, and William Jones, of Pennsylvania, directed the fitting out and the despatch to what appeared certain defeat, but was in nearly all cases significant victory, of the ships of the second war with Great Britain. By his effective and excellent administration of the fleets of our Civil War, Gideon

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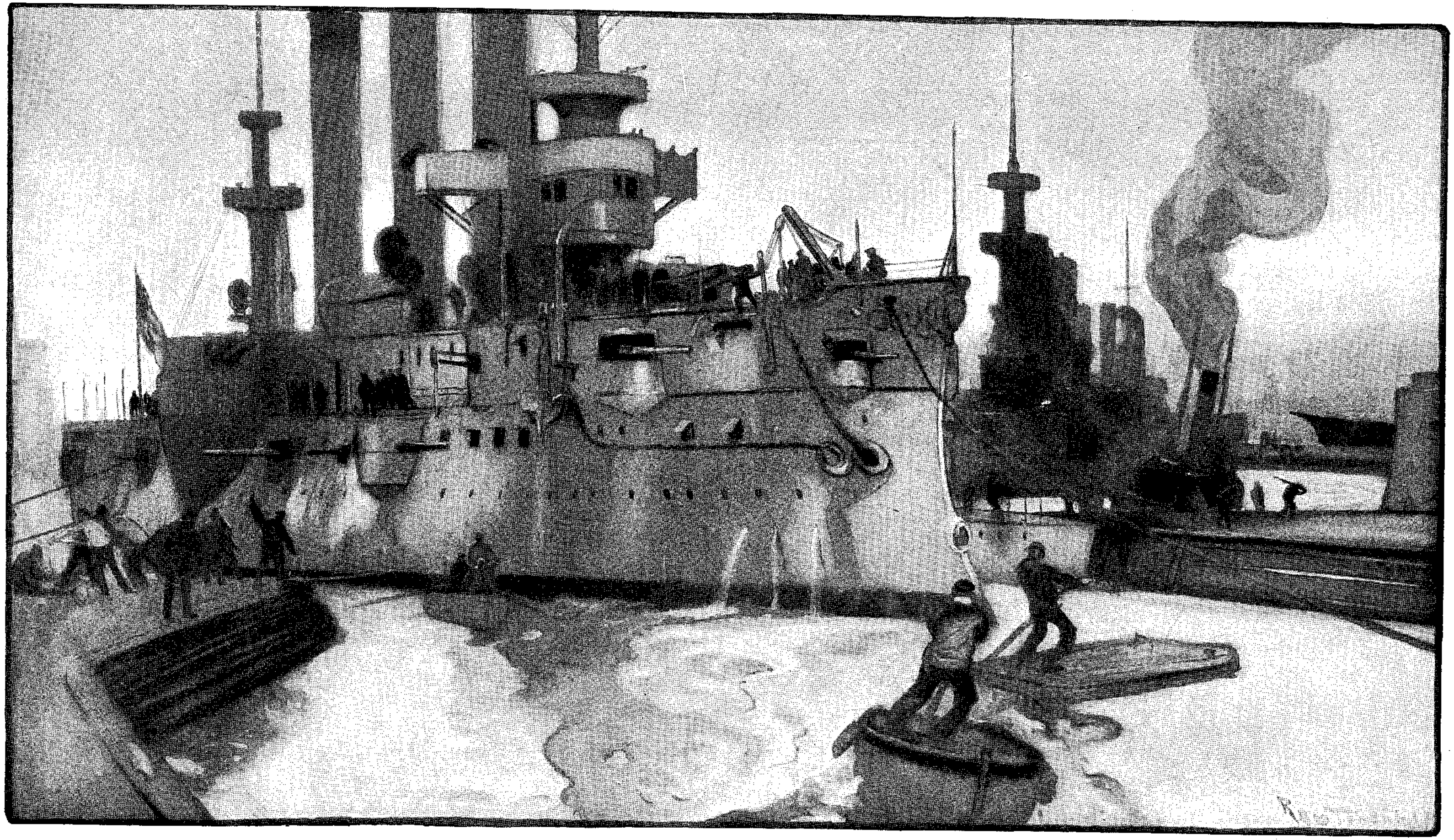
This is the fourth of a series of twelve papers to appear in the Magazine Numbers of The Outlook. Other papers will be: The Preparation for the War with Spain, The Battle of Manila Bay, The Blockade of Cuba, Bottling up Cervera's Fleet, The Battle of Santiago, Valiant Deeds in the War with Spain; Samoa, the Philippines, and China; Recent Naval Lessons.



DOCKING A BATTLE-SHIP

Drawn by Henry Reuterdahl

Welles earned the grateful appreciation of his country.

Too often forgotten are the men who in time of war are in subordinate departmental positions. The few clerks who faithfully carried out the instruction of Stoddart, Smith, Hamilton, and Jones, and undoubtedly did a large part of their work, are to-day unknown. The navy treasures the name of Gustavus V. Fox, the able assistant of Secretary Welles; but a small percentage of the present generation of the American people are aware of his faithfulness, his capacity, and the far-reaching results of the labor he performed. Entitled to special remembrance also are the Bureau Chiefs of the Civil War; but only the tons of musty records encumbering the files of the Navy Department tell of the way in which they fulfilled their duties. And, coming to the war with Spain, are not Theodore Roosevelt and Charles H. Allen, the Assistant Secretaries, and Arent S. Crowninshield, the Chief of the Bureau of Navigation, and Charles O'Neil, the Chief of Ordnance, and George W. Melville, the Engineer-in-Chief, and Philip Hichborn, the Chief Constructor, and Royal B. Bradford, the Chief of Equipment, and Edwin Stewart, the Paymaster-General, and William K. Van Reypen, the Surgeon-General, and Mordecai T. Endicott, the Chief of the Bureau of Yards and Docks, and Sam C. Lemly, the Judge Advocate General, and their subordinates, worthy of remembrance in connection with those who actually participated in battle? How promptly Congress rewarded Dewey and his captains! How quickly would there have been action in behalf of the Santiago officers had it not been for the unfortunate Sampson-Schley controversy! On the other hand, what indifference when it was urged that National acknowledgment be given to the officers who, though aware that only at sea could glory be won, placed duty above desire and patriotically remained at their desks, though at first some of them pleaded with tears in their eyes for service afloat!

The central function of the navy is the Navy Department at the National Capital. This is the organ which directs all members of the service, which is bound to detect any weakness in the navy system and replace it with new and healthier growth, and which centralizes all its forces for striking the sea power of an enemy. That navy is the most efficient and effective which, other things equal, is the most intelligently administered. The height naval education will reach depends upon the standard fixed for its attainment.

It is to the Navy Department, therefore, that the country looks for an efficient navy when means for the ships and men have been provided. And to the Department to-day I believe the country may so look with confidence. It is true that, like any other great institution in which the element of human nature is active, it still, to some extent, lacks cohesion and harmony, and in the transaction of business, even of routine character, there are now and then friction and wrangling in some details on the part of intelligent and able officials which would not be tolerated in a civilian establishment. The system, however, and not the men are at fault; indeed, in the main they work together with tremendous effect. Differences of opinion are better than lifelessness. Nor is it surprising that they should sometimes be accompanied by pettiness of personal feeling when one considers the way in which the departmental organization has grown, how necessity and expediency have developed it, and how intangible sometimes are the lines of demarcation between the authority and duties of the several bureaus.

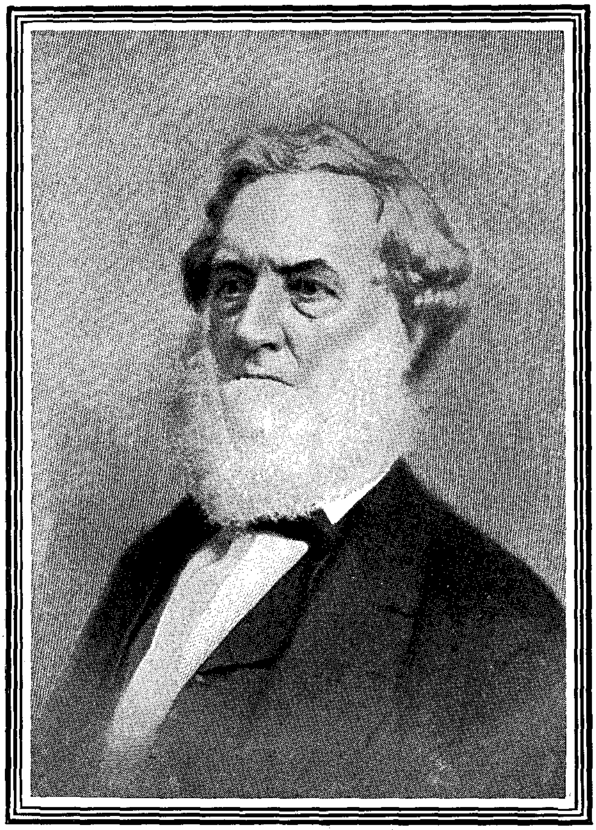
The navy of the Revolution did effective work in that epochal struggle, but the credit for its achievements is little due to the several Boards and Committees which Congress appointed to create and administer it. In spite of the successes of the revolting colonies on the sea, especially of their persistent and lucky privateers, and the importance attached by Europe to our naval promise, the founders of our Federal Government thought the navy of so little consequence that the Secretary of War was charged by the first Congress under the Federal Constitution with supervision of naval affairs. Soon, however, unfamiliarity with the construction of vessels of war, and with naval business generally, led the war authorities to make the blunt confession that a separate department for the navy was absolutely essential, and an act, approved April 30, 1798, established the

Navy Department, the head of which was named the Secretary of the Navy and made a Cabinet officer, subordinate to whom were a principal clerk and such other clerks as he required. This organization carried the navy through the war with France, the war with the Barbary States, and the war with Great Britain. Defects, however, developed which demanded correction. A Secretary unprovided with expert professional assistance, and untrained in the technicalities of naval affairs, might have become at critical times a dangerous instead of a helpful factor in the service. "The multifarious concerns of the naval establishment," wrote Secretary Jones in 1814, "the absence of wholesome regulations in its civil administration, and the imperfect execution of duties due to want of professional experience, lead to confusion and abuses."

This plain statement convinced Congress that no further time was to be lost in reorganizing the Department, and by an act, approved February 7, 1815, six weeks after the signature of the Treaty of Ghent, which closed the war with Great Britain, a Board of Navy Commissioners was added to the Department. This Board consisted of three officers of the navy, of rank not below that of Post Captain, and the law required it, under the supervision of the Secretary, to discharge all the ministerial duties of the Department relative to the procurement of naval stores and materials, and the construction, armament, equipment, and employment

THE OLD NAVY DEPARTMENT BUILDING

From a photograph by Brady, loaned by C. W. Stewart, Esq., Librarian of the Navy Department.



GIDEON WELLES
Secretary of the Navy during the Civil War
From a portrait that hangs in the Navy Department.

of vessels of war, as well as other matters connected with the naval establishment. It is true that this organization sometimes exemplified the truth of the old aphorism, "In divided power there is no individual responsibility." Also that the Navy Commissioners were usually men unfamiliar with the mechanical craft of ship-building, although by law given the right which they exercised to alter or reject plans of a projected ship which the constructors, subordinate to them, might submit. Also that the Constitution, the United States, and the Ohio, designed by Constructors Humphrey and Eckford, were the favorite and fastest ships of the navy in 1840, while those of later date, for which the Navy Commissioners were responsible, were clumsier and by no means the equal in speed of the fleet and graceful merchant ships laid down at American seaports. The Board, however, was progressive, notwithstanding its ignorance of the science of ship-designing, and was earnest to recognize and take advantage of improvements in the art of naval warfare. From 1815 to 1842, the lifetime of the Board, the navy increased many-fold, and Cooper thus testified to its efficiency: "As respects the navies of this hemisphere, it was (in 1845) supreme, the united marines of all the rest of the continent being unable to contend against it for an hour." Still, due in part to the fact that the law required the Board to act as a unit, and in part to other defects of the system, the abuses of which Secretary Jones complained continued to some extent either in the same or new forms under the Navy Commissioners, causing the celebrated Matthew Maury, then a young Ensign in the navy, to write this criticism:

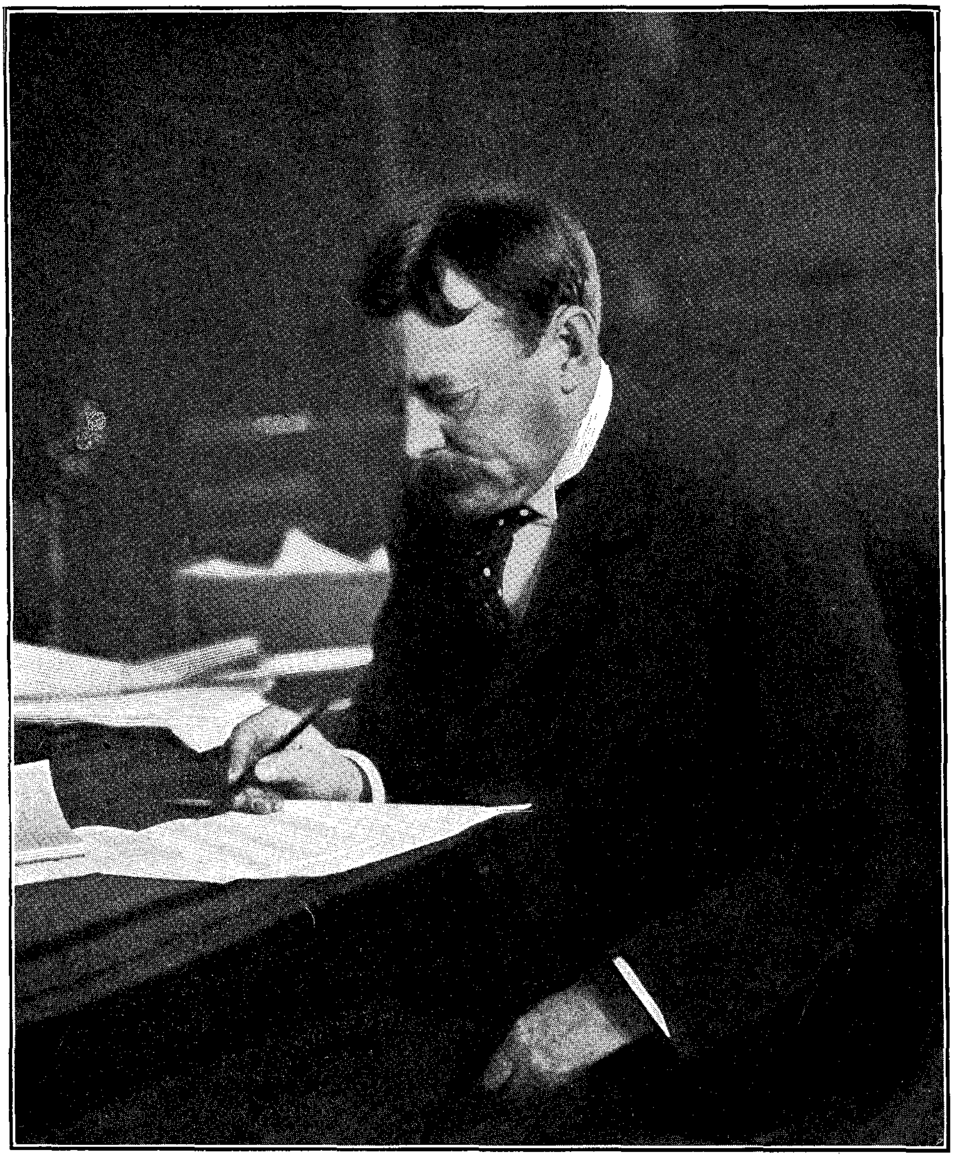
"To what page soever I turn, I find my note-book filled with memoranda which exemplify the evils of the present system. However distinctly within the walls of the Navy Department usage may have drawn the line of demarcation between the duties of Secretary and Navy Board, or however well it may be understood there, you will find but few able to trace it out of that building. Ask officers of the navy where the duties of the Navy Board begin? or where its responsibilities end? or where rests its accountability?—and no two will agree in their reply. Ask the best-informed citizens the same questions. Some will tell you that the Navy Board is a power behind the Secretary, greater than the Secretary himself—that there is a master spirit in that Board which rules the Navy. Others will tell you that the evil genius of the Navy presides at that Board. Him they unjustly charge with everything that goes amiss, and would hold responsible for the present condition of the navy."

All which even at the present day sounds rather familiar to anybody who is familiar with those criticisms of the Navy Department or any other department which are always in the air. "The evils of the present system" are always with us and always will be.

Congress, cognizant of imperfections in the departmental system, in 1839 called upon the Secretary of the Navy to suggest a plan of reorganization which should make a proper division of the duties performed by the Naval Commissioners. Disheartened by criticism and oppressed by the growing burdens which the increase of the navy and the new problems which developments in the science of naval warfare had laid on them, the Commissioners at last officially admitted that their usefulness had gone, and recommended the introduction of a system of bureaus practically identical with that which exists to-day, with the exception of the Bureau of Steam Engineering. Steam was then in its infancy, and was not considered sufficiently important to warrant supervision as a separate feature of the Naval Establishment. The Senate adopted the recommendation of the Commissioners, which contemplated the organization of seven bureaus, but the House reduced the number to five, and in this reduction the Senate concurred. The Bureaus created by the act of August 31, 1842, were Navy-Yards and Docks; Construction, Equipment, and Repairs; Provisions and Clothing; Ordnance and Hydrography; and Medicine and Surgery, the titles indicating the duties respectively assigned to each. A line officer of the rank of captain was made chief of each Bureau, with the exception of the two Bureaus of Provisions and Clothing, and Medicine and Surgery. In 1853 John Lenthal, a naval constructor, was appointed Chief of the Bureau of Construction, Equipment, and Repairs.

The bureau system did not escape criticism as sharp as that leveled at preceding organizations. The Civil War demonstrated elements of inadequacy, and Congress in 1862 added the Bureau of Steam Engineering, created the Bureau of Navigation, and took equipment from Equipment, Construction and Repairs, making it, with recruiting, a separate Bureau of Equipment and Recruiting. The Rebellion also brought into existence the office of Assistant Secretary of the Navy, which was authorized in 1861 and abolished in 1869. It was re-established in 1891 in accordance with the recommendations of the Secretaries who had engaged in developing the New Navy. Questions involving interpretation and application of the law constantly arising, and the need of an officer specially charged with the supervision of courts martial and also with the very important and growing matters of contracts of all kinds to which the Navy Department is a party, caused Congress in 1865 to direct the appointment of a "Solicitor and Naval Judge Advocate General." With some difficulty, Congress was induced, just before the construction of the New Navy, not to discontinue the office. It is to-day a very important branch of naval administration, especially in view of the dealings, involving many millions of outlay, of the Navy Department with contractors of all sorts.

Scandals and abuses had flourished as the old navy declined. Regeneration of material was accompanied by reform of administration. Secretary Chandler found serious lack of responsibility and co-ordination of work. To obtain greater efficiency, he recommended the appointment of three superintending naval constructors, who should have direct charge of all work relating to construction, steam-engineering, and equipment, under the supervision of a Chief of the "Bureau of Naval Construction." Secretary Whitney reported that large private purchases



PHOTOGRAPHED FOR THE OUTLOOK BY HENRY HOYT MOORE

WILLIAM H. MOODY, SECRETARY OF THE NAVY

were made by the Bureau Chiefs where the law intended that contracts, after due public competition, should be awarded to the lowest bidder. Instead of being in the hands of regular dealers, much of the business of the navy was controlled by brokers. During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1885, seven bureaus, acting independently of one another, expended $138,000 for 166 several open purchases of coal, that is, without competition ; eight bureaus made 299 open purchases of stationery; six bureaus bought lumber and hardware for which the Government paid $121,315 in 499 separate open purchases, and seven bureaus spent $46,000 for oils and paints in 269 separate purchases. Mr. Whitney found that eight bureaus supplied ships with stationery and three furnished lamps and lanterns.

As the law authorizing the departmental organization places the assignment of duties in the hands of the Secretary, Mr. Whitney directed comprehensive and wise reforms. He consolidated the business of conducting purchases in the

Bureau of Provisions and Clothing, and made the Paymaster-General responsible therefor. In order to check unnecessary accumulation of supplies and to reduce the expenditures for purchases made, the general-storekeeper system was created and the Bureau of Provisions and Clothing was charged with the keeping of property accounts. During the administration of Secretary Tracy the name of the Bureau of Provisions and Clothing was changed to Supplies and Accounts as more truthfully defining the duties it performs.

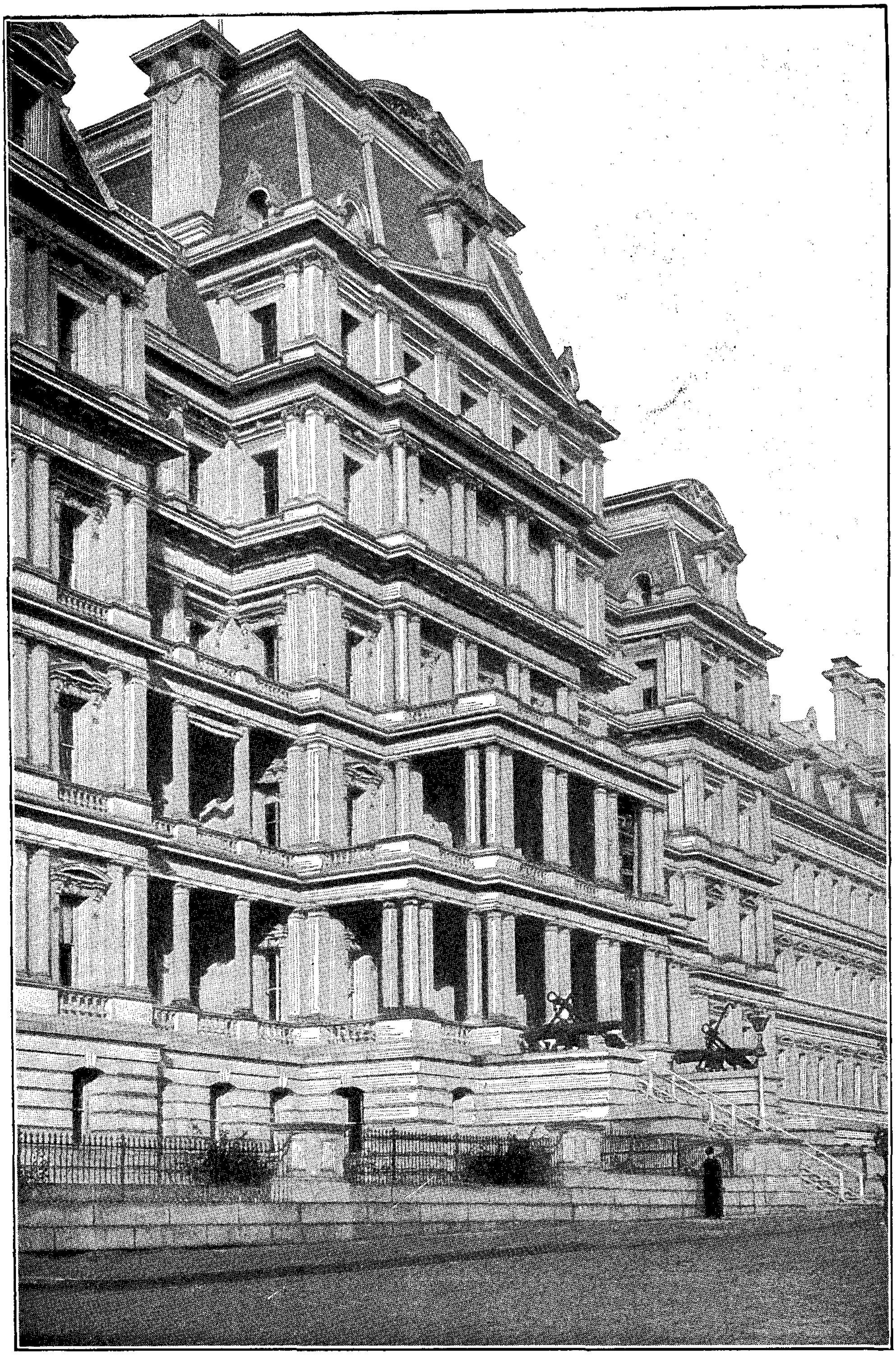
Secretary Tracy carried on the policy of reformation. When he assumed the naval portfolio, he found that "the details of administering the navy, as an existing force, its vessels in commission, its officers and its crews, were scattered, without system or coherence, among a variety of offices, bureaus, and boards." As illustrating the confusion which existed, the Secretary said in his report for 1889:

"The assignment of officers to duty, and, to a limited extent, the movements of ships in commission, were in charge of an 'office of detail,' at the head of which was the Chief of the Bureau of Navigation, which Bureau was, at the same time, supplying compasses, chronometers, and navigating instruments, electric-light plant, ships' libraries, and other miscellaneous articles. The enlistment and assignment of seamen belonged to Equipment, which was also engaged in the supply of another list of miscellaneous articles, and in the manufacture of cordage, galleys, chains, and anchors. The direction of gunnery practice by ships in commission was in charge of Ordnance, whose all-important duties in providing the navy with a modern armament left little opportunity for supervising the occupations of vessels at sea. The examination of those vessels on their return from a cruise was the duty of a Board of Inspection which was not associated with any Bureau. The training of officers and men was in part conducted independently by the Naval Academy, and in other parts assumed by Navigation, Equipment, and Ordnance. To all these fragments of authority there was no central unity of direction, except such as could be given by the personal attention of the Secretary to the exclusion of that broad and general supervision over all executive business which is required by a Department as comprehensive as the navy, and cases were not infrequent where a ship received simultaneous orders from three separate Bureaus which were so directly contradictory that it was impossible to execute them."

Eradication of the defects which Mr. Tracy discovered was one of the important works to which he devoted his attention. The administration and operation of the fleet, including movements of ships and training, assignment, enlistment, inspection, and practice of the personnel, were assigned to the Bureau of Navigation. The miscellaneous duties of navigation, which properly came within the sphere of equipment of ships, were transferred to Equipment, which lost recruiting. The hydrographic office was by law attached to the Bureau of Navigation. Secretary Tracy recommended that it be placed under the Bureau of Equipment, but it was not until 1898 that legislation directing this was enacted.

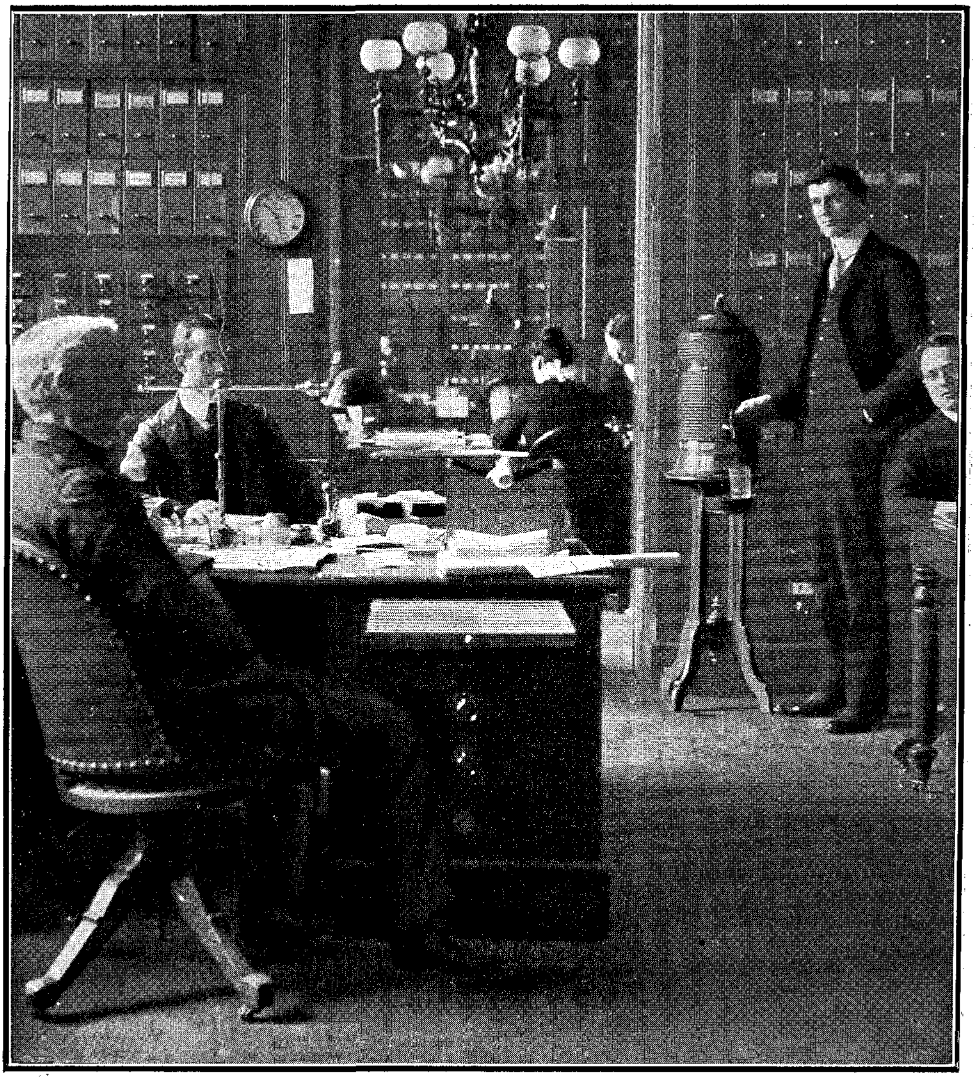
Another step in the reformation of naval administration was taken by Secretary Herbert, my predecessor at the head of the Navy Department. Mr. Herbert, in 1894, issued a general order charging the Bureau of Construction and Repair with the responsibility for the design, structural strength, and stability of vessels built for the navy. This order was important for the reason that it enabled the department to hold a single officer accountable for the success or failure of a ship.

Thus, examination of the history of the Navy Department in 1897 showed persistent effort to place the office upon a sound business footing; but it was also found that much remained to be done before a satisfactory organization would be in operation. Prior to the first inauguration of President McKinley, Congress had not provided for the improvement of the navy-yards with the proportionate liberality which their importance to the steel fleet demanded. The demand for navy-yard reorganization at the time of the birth of the new navy was so insistent that Congress, in 1882, directed the appointment of a Commission to make a thorough investigation. This Commission then advised a reorganization and concentration of the mechanical departments



PHOTOGRAPH BY HENRY HOYT MOORE

EAST FAÇADE OF THE STATE, WAR, AND NAVY BUILDING, WASHINGTON. OCCUPIED BY THE NAVY DEPARTMENT



PHOTOGRAPH BY HENRY HOYT MOORE

RECORD-ROOM OF THE BUREAU OF CONSTRUCTION AND REPAIR, NAVY DEPARTMENT
WASHINGTON

of the yards at New York, Norfolk, and Mare Island, the closing of the New London and Pensacola yards, the temporary shutting down of the League Island yard, and the retention of the Washington yard for the manufacture of standard articles, but not as a ship-yard for the repair of vessels. Difference of opinion existed as to what should be done with the Boston and Portsmouth yards. The Secretary designated the Washington yard as the place where all ordnance work should be centered, directed that most of the construction and repairs of ships should be effected at the New York, Norfolk, and Mare Island yards, and ordered that equipment work should be done at the Boston yard. The steady growth of the navy and the size it had attained in 1897 convinced me that the time had come to enlarge the capacity of existing yards and to equip others to do repair work. During my administration the yard at Port Royal, S. C., was the only yard abandoned, but in its place Congress authorized the establishment of an important naval station at Charleston, in the same State.

A step toward the effective reconstruction of the yards was the appointment of a competent chief of the Bureau of Yards and Docks. From the time of its creation this office had been held by officers of the line who possessed little expert knowledge in civil engineering. Knowledge of this science is essential for the proper planning of naval stations, the construction of dry docks, and erection of buildings. A vacancy occurring, the President, upon my recommendation, appointed as Chief of that Bureau for the term of four years—the period fixed by law—Civil Engineer Mordecai T. Endicott, an officer of distinction in his profession and for a long time on duty in that Bureau, who had theretofore given evidence of efficiency and skill. Congress, at last satisfied that an effective fleet must have bases, and be equipped with appliances for prompt repairs, authorized extensive navy-yard improvements. Five years ago the docking facilities of the country were totally inadequate for the needs of the *matériel.* There were but three docks capable of receiving battle-ships—one at New York, known as Dock No. 3, a timber structure, which was defective on account of both location and workmanship; one at Port Royal, built of timber, the cross-section of which was too small to permit the entrance of a battle-ship fitted with bilge-keels, and which could be approached only at high tide; and the third, also timber-built, at Bremerton, Washington, which was the best of its size belonging to the Government, but which had the disadvantage of being within striking distance of the British naval station at Esquimault. The prospect of war with Spain and the need of a dock on the Atlantic coast available for battle-ships in case of injury caused the Department to take measures for putting Dock No. 3, at New York, in condition for service, and it has since been practically in continuous service. A significant indication of our lack of sufficient docks was furnished in 1897 by the mortifying necessity of sending the battle-ship Indiana to Halifax to have her bottom scraped and cleaned.

A board of officers was appointed in 1897 to consider the docking requirements of the navy, and in the light of its report the Department recommended the construction of stone and concrete docks at Boston, Portsmouth, N. H., and Mare Island, a steel floating dock at Algiers, La.,

PHOTOGRAPH BY HENRY HOYT MOORE

MAIN DRAUGHTING-ROOM OF THE NAVY DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON and the enlargement of docks at New York, League Island, and Norfolk. Congress investigated the relative merits of timber and stone and concrete docks, and in 1898 provided for four timber docks and one steel floating dock; but authority was afterwards given to the Department to build these four docks of the more solid material. The construction of these docks of masonry has definitely committed the Government to this type, the advantages of which are greater safety, longer life, and less repairs. Though these docks, which are now nearing completion, were at the time of their design the largest ever built by the United States, three others, also of stone and concrete, which Congress subsequently authorized, will be even deeper and wider, accommodating any of the immense battle-ships which are under construction and contemplated. The floating dock for Algiers is in successful operation at the naval station at that point. During the five years of my term Congress authorized the construction of seven masonry docks, one steel floating dock, and the rebuilding of one timber dock in concrete. In addition, the Department purchased for the small sum of $250,000 the practically new steel floating dock at Havana, which had cost Spain $600,000. In 1897 there were eleven Government docks, only three of which could accommodate battle-ships of the first class. There are to-day, built or under construction, twenty-one Government docks, eight of which are designed to receive the largest ships and three others ships of 10,000 tons displacement. Even with this number, we are far behind the maritime nations of Europe. In the single yard at Portsmouth, England, there are more dry-docks than we have to-day in our whole service. Germany, whose navy is about the same strength as our own, has seventy docks, two of which belong to private companies and are capable of receiving any of the Kaiser's battle-ships.

Besides providing docking facilities, Congress also authorized improvements in navy-yard plants. The navy-yard at New York is now equipped to construct battle-ships. That at Portsmouth, with an additional appropriation of $175,000, and the yards at Norfolk and Mare Island, with an additional appropriation of $225,000, can be made ready for building vessels of this type. The improvements under way at Boston will, within two years, fit that yard for this work. The yards are to-day in condition to make repairs promptly, efficiently, and economically. The country should not think, however, that their improvement ought to cease. Much must be done to keep them in a state of efficiency. The coaling facilities of the country have also largely increased since 1897. A man-of-war leaving San Francisco for China or Australia will now find coal piles distributed at convenient points along her route. Coal is the food of a modern ship, and war will demonstrate the strategical importance of the stations established, just as peace has shown their economic value. In addition to coaling depots, the United States owns twenty-three navy-yards and naval stations, the total value of which is not far from $100,000,000.

The shore stations of the navy have been described at some length because knowledge of their condition is necessary to obtain an adequate idea of the responsibility which rests upon the shoulders of those who administer their affairs. The several Bureaus, which have departments at the various yards and stations, are tenacious of their prerogatives and guard them jealously, fearing, perhaps, that any innovation will be followed by diminution of their jurisdiction. The temptation to step beyond the limits of a Bureau's authority as fixed by the Naval Regulations sometimes proves almost irresistible. The Bureau affected sharply resents the encroachment, and there immediately follows an exchange of communications, sometimes highly seasoned. The controversy is ultimately loaded upon the Secretary, who is expected to untangle the snarl in which his subordinates have wound themselves. The relations between the Bureaus are occasionally so strained that ordinary courtesy is strained. I recall that one Bureau Chief became highly incensed at another because of the latter's recommendations in connection with changes in the machinery of a cruiser. "Your recommendations," wrote the former, "are as inconsistent with your ignoring of the suggestion to withdraw the same as is your assumption of a 'best way to handle' these surveys antagonistic to simple

NORTH ATLANTIC OCEAN
SOUTH ATLANTIC OCEAN
STANFORD'S LIBRARY MAP OF SOUTH AMERICA

PHOTOGRAPH BY HENRY HOYT MOORE

SECRETARY MOODY IN HIS OFFICE AT THE NAVY DEPARTMENT, STUDYING THE MAP OF VENEZUELA

Bureau duties. The ostentatious display of a banner marked 'despatch' may obtain the confidence of the unversed, but it is not the proof of ability to secure that desideratum which is required to satisfy expert criticism."

This is one of the many instances of the friction which sometimes exists, but which should by no means be regarded as the rule. There has at times been like lack of harmony between other Bureaus. The cause of the trouble any one who investigates the matter will readily appreciate. Here are three or four Bureaus charged with the construction and fitting out of vessels, and while one, for example, is held responsible for the care and repair of all auxiliary steam machinery, it has no voice either in the design or installation of many of the auxiliaries. It frequently has happened that one Bureau has brought its work to a point where, under the regulations, it would be taken over by another Bureau, but the latter was not ready for it. Each Bureau has a separate force of inspectors and corps of officers. As a ship is an integral work, it is evident that efficiency and economy could better be obtained by placing its construction, as far as possible, under one head. The construction and equipment of ships would thus be conducted under the system which is successfully employed in the private ship-yards of the country. Leading up to this step, the Department began in 1897 the substitution of electrical for steam power at navy-yards. Investigation had disclosed the astonishing fact that the power for operating the machinery of the different departments of the yards, instead of being supplied by a single plant, was furnished by boilers and engines scattered about the yard and operated by different Bureaus. Of course separate gangs of men were required for each plant, and the amount of power obtained was relatively small for the coal used and the steam consumed. Rectification of this extravagance was partially effected by concentration under the authority vested in the Secretary of the Navy. Legislation was, however, necessary before consolidation of the Bureaus could be made. The Bureaus of Construction and Repair, of Steam Engineering and of Equipment, both as a matter of economy and efficiency, should be under one head. Congress failed to adopt the recommendation to this end, just as it had neglected to act favorably upon recommendations contemplating somewhat the same result submitted by Secretaries Chandler and Whitney. This change must occur, and with it will come a sound business system which will introduce cohesion and unity in naval administration. The Hydrographic Office and the Naval Observatory should be placed directly under the Secretary of the Navy. The Observatory is decidedly behind institutions of like character in the United States and Europe. It always had as its superintendent a line officer, who sometimes possessed thorough and sometimes merely superficial knowledge of astronomy. The condition of the Observatory for two or three years past has been brought to the attention of Congress, which directed the appointment of a Board of Visitors, whose criticisms have already brought improvement in the work of the institution. It was urgently recommended that legislation be enacted removing all limitations from the field from which the selection of a superintendent may be made. The country is entitled to its best astronomer for this great astronomical plant. This recommendation, however, provoked strong opposition from some officers in the navy and their friends in Congress, which took the opposite direction, and even directed that the superintendent should be, "until further legislation," a line officer not below the rank of captain, thus limiting the place to a favored few and ignoring entirely the question of their capacity to fill it. The phrase, "until further legislation," gives some hope that Congress may later take more reasonable action with respect to the Observatory. Good management and results commensurate with the expenditures made demand a competent head, and the agitation which has been begun by the scientific bodies of the country should eventually bring about the organization of a personnel which will make the institution the equal of any in the world; indeed, with its larger expenditures, it should be superior.

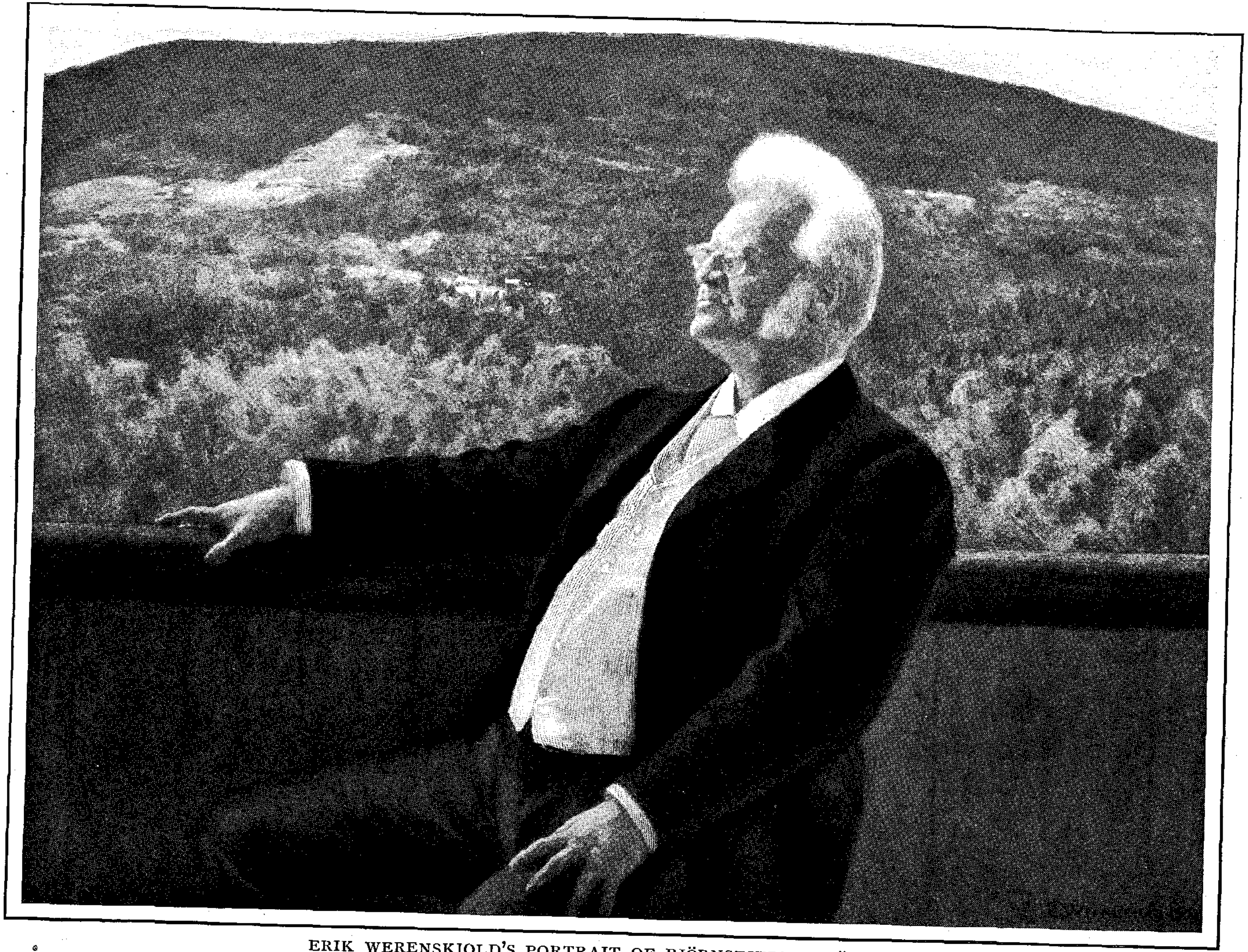
From the time the construction of the old navy began, every Secretary of the Navy has felt the need of professional assistance. This want produced the Board of Navy Commissioners and then the Bureau System of the Department. But the Bureaus, working independently of one another and not always in harmony, so appropriated the space of a ship as often to leave her defective in some important particular. This unfortunate state of affairs was partially remedied by Secretary Tracy, who in 1889 constituted a Board, called the Board on Construction, consisting of the Chiefs of the five Bureaus of Yards and Docks, Ordnance, Equipment, Construction and Repairs, and Steam Engineering, to which he gave general supervision over the design, construction, and equipment of ships. As the work of the Bureau of Yards and Docks was confined to shore stations, and as a civil engineer had been placed at the head of this Bureau, it was withdrawn from representation on the Board and the Naval Intelligence officer substituted.

The Board deserves great credit for the work it has done, especially under the presidency of Rear-Admiral O'Neil, whose tact and judgment, in many controversial questions, have facilitated the submission of the intelligent recommendations of the Board to the Department. To it are referred questions of general construction, differences of opinion between Bureaus, and especially the plans and specifications for new ships.

Beyond the Secretary of the Navy and the Chief of the Bureau of Navigation there was, till recently, no well-organized system for the intelligent direction of the fleet after its construction and commission. The experience of the war with Spain showed the need of a General Staff. The office of Naval Intelligence and the Naval War College, both of which owe their creation to Secretary Chandler, were the first stage in the formation of the General Staff; but they were not adapted to comprehensive supervision of the training and the operation of the navy in war. When the Carnegie Steel Company was first established, only a few officers were required for the administration of its affairs; but when its interests became large, a Board of Directors was necessary successfully to conduct its business. The General Staff of the navy approximates the Board of Directors of a manufacturing concern. Its duties include the collection of information respecting foreign navies, their bases in time of war, and the theater of action in which they will move. This information will permit an appreciation of the aims and purposes of those navies, and a comparison of their strength with that which we will be able to muster against each or several of them. Based upon it, comprehensive plans can be prepared for the most effective operations by our navy and the utilization of auxiliary forces such as the naval militia and reserves, and co-operation with the army. The formulation of these plans and their execution in time of peace under the simulated conditions of war will train officers and men and prepare them to grapple with hostile situations when they arise.

After the war with Spain, Captain H. C. Taylor, now Chief of the Bureau of Navigation, who had given long and diligent study to the plan, and is to be credited with its adoption, submitted to me a memorandum on a General Staff for the navy. This memorandum pointed out the value and purpose of the General Staff, much as stated above. The navy was not quite ready for such a comprehensive change as would occur in case of the adoption of the full General Staff system, though it had been a subject of discussion for many years. The Department did not see its way clear to go further than to organize what is designated as the General Board, with the Admiral of the Navy as its President. This Board meets once a month, and at stated periods consults with the Commander-in-Chief of the North Atlantic Squadron, which practices the war plans which the Board devises. Its work gives promise of the excellent results anticipated. Germany employed fifty years in developing her General Staff, which gave to the world a marvelous lesson in organization and efficiency during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870. Necessary as such an organization is to the American navy, the steps taken to introduce it will be approved by experience.

In the navy a system of administration so compact and yet elastic that jealousies and friction will be minimized and the most effective co-operation obtained is always the desideratum. What the navy has accomplished must be attributed in large measure to the strength and character of its administrative and fighting officers. They have done splendid work, and they will do better yet. They are zealous, full of ability, honesty, force, and full, of course, of human nature. With these qualities the naval administrative organization is tending still more, as fast as it can, towards a system which will harmoniously labor for only one aim and purpose—the honor and safety of the country.



ERIK WERENSKIOLD'S PORTRAIT OF BJÖRNSTJERNE BJÖRNSON

Björnstjerne Björnson

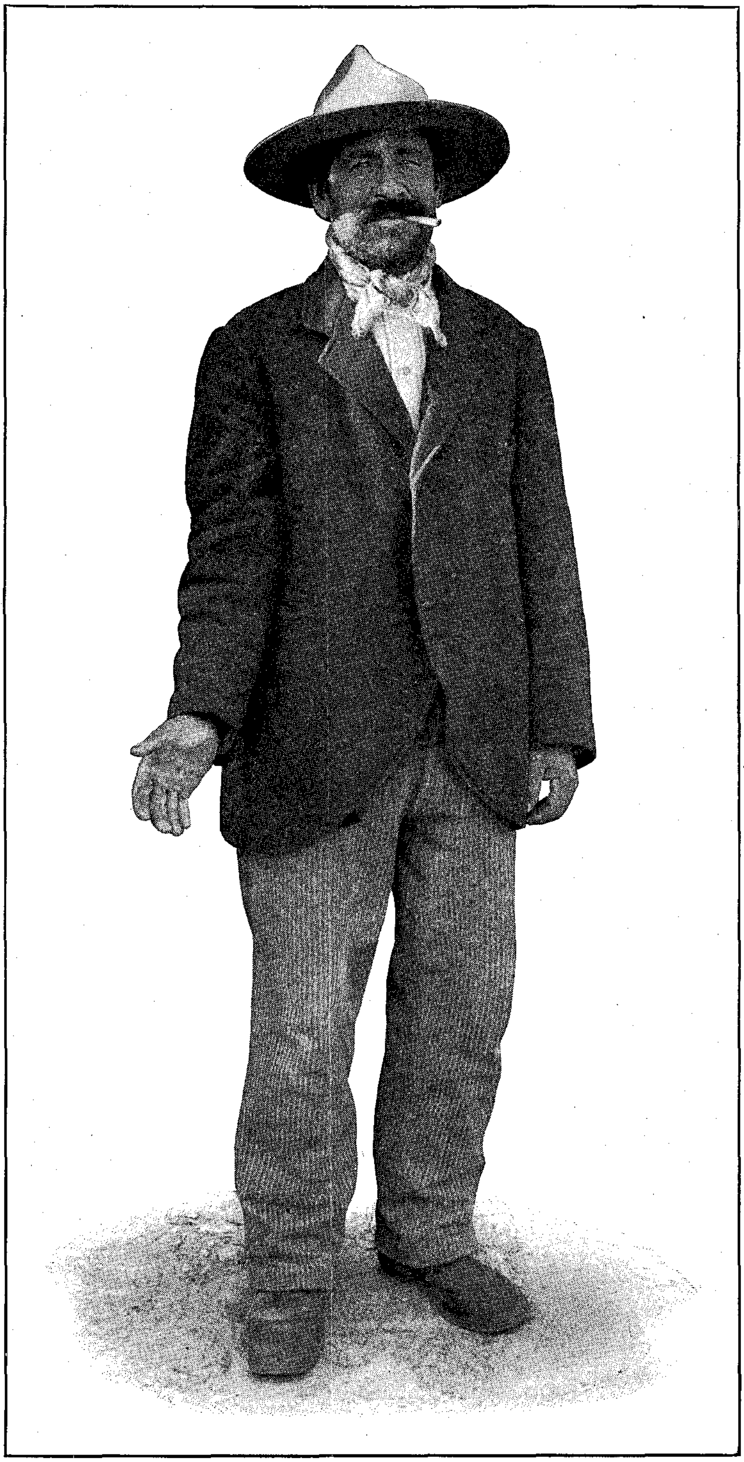
IF a consensus of literary opinion could be taken to-day, it would probably be found that Tolstoï, Ibsen, and Björnson would be given the foremost places in contemporary literature. The authors of "Anna Karénina," "The Pretenders," and "Arne" are not only writers of great force, but they are also striking personalities, from every point of view among the most interesting men of their time. Tolstoï is probably, all things considered, the foremost man in Europe; a writer of genius who has combined original power of a very high and sustained kind with the delicacy, the sensitive imagination, the plastic force of the artist, a passionate lover of his kind, one who looks at life sadly but with individual passion, a great artist turned reformer, without official position, excommunicated from the National Church and yet to-day the most influential person in Russia.

Ibsen has been for many years a voluntary exile from his country, a recluse in his habits, detached and solitary, although not without many friends and not lacking many agreeable qualities as a companion. He is a man who has endeavored to look life in the face and has found it, in his judgment, base and unworthy, and who has devoted himself with untiring energy and almost brutal frankness to the exposition of what he regards as the hypocrisy, the pretensions, and the benumbing conventionalities of contemporary life.

Björnson is the most wholesome of the three; a man of powerful frame, of overflowing physical life, of intense energy of mind, will, and feeling. He is a dynamic worker in every department of life, a born lover of life, a writer who has studied his kind at close range, who is in revolt against many traditions and conventions, but who believes in life, in his fellows, in the possibilities of human nature; a great, sunny, exuberant, boyish leader.

Björnson was born seventy years ago last December in Oesterdalen, in one of the bleakest and barest sections of Norway, surrounded by lofty, snow-covered hills. Although the son of a pastor, the future novelist, who was to picture the rustic life of Norway with such idyllic simplicity and with such sympathetic insight, was a boy of the people, who knew and loved the lonely life of the valley and the beauty of the mountain and fjord from his infancy.

At the age of twelve Björnson was sent to a Latin School, where he seems to have spent his energy in instinctive and persistent revolt against rules, regulations, and regular study hours of all kinds, but where he also became a leader, organizing a debating society, founding a newspaper, and showing in the vital life of the school all the energy he failed to display in his studies. In 1852 he was admitted to the Christiania University, where he made the acquaintance of Ibsen, and the two men became fast friends. At the university as in school, Björnson neglected the regular work, but was intensely active in all the fields that interested him. Here the idea of creating a national literature, free from Danish influence, took deep hold upon him; and with a little group of young men of kindred spirit and attitude he became an ardent advocate of Norwegian independence. In 1857 he went to Copenhagen; and in that city his first novel, "Synnove Solbakken," appeared, and at once made Norway aware that a new writer had appeared among them, who had brought a new strain into their literature. Simple in plot, direct and sinewy in style, dealing at first hand with the rustic life of Norway, the new novel came like a breath of fresh air. It was the beginning of a new movement. In the same class belong "Arne" and "A Happy Boy." Björnson's interest in the drama dates from an early period. He has acted as director of Ole Bull's theater in Bergen, where he published his first dramatic works, and of the Christiania theater. He has been the editor of various journals. He has written charming lyric poetry; and in prose, verse, and plays he has always spoken of real things in a real way. He has not only been a leader in the movement for intellectual independence, and for the development of a native literature to which he has also been one of the chief contributors, but he has carried into public life the same energy and freedom, and for many years has been one of the leaders of the progressive movement in Norway.



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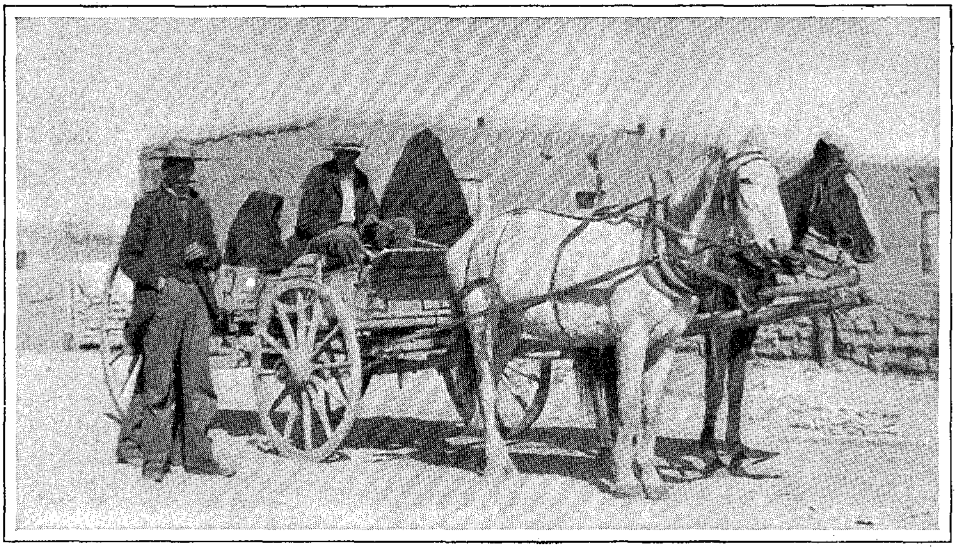
"ME NO COMPRENDO ENGLISH"



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GOING TO TOWN

The People of New Mexico

By Morris P. Watson

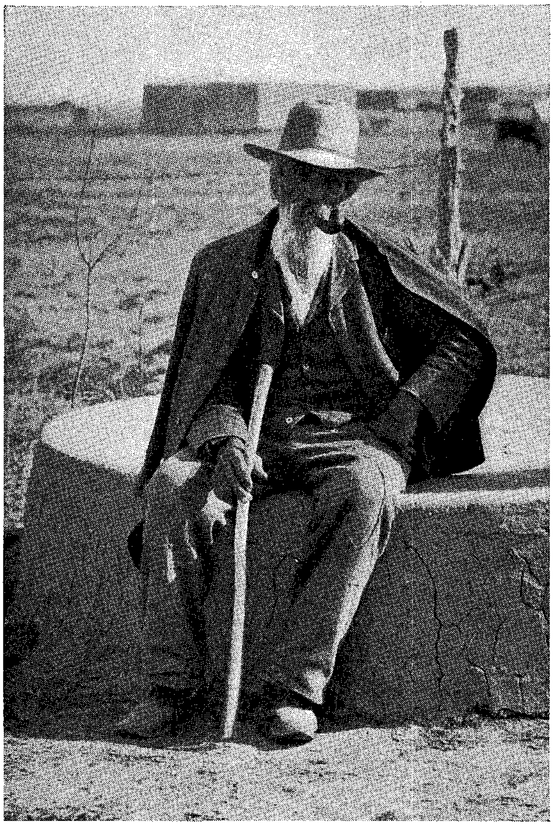
THE saving grace of the Republic has been its power of assimilation. Out of a conglomerate mass from all nations it has made its citizens. A generation from the fatherland and they are thorough Americans. Not so with the Mexicans. For half a century they have been Americans, but to-day they are well-nigh as alien as when we acquired them. The slowness and dullness of the race accounts for this in part, yet it is only fair to allow for the difference in the method of acquisition. They came to us not by choice but by force; they were not transplanted, but left on the same old soil in the same surroundings; they were not thrown with English-speaking people, but remained with users of their mother tongue. To some extent the blame is ours, for we have known and cared as little for them as they have for us. It is only with their demand for Statehood that eyes have been turned upon our Mexican brothers of the Southwest.

That they are Spanish in tongue and customs is well known, but how tenaciously they have held to their race peculiarities is known only by those who have lived among them. Get away from the cities and the railroads and one would have difficulty in determining whether he was in New Mexico or our sister republic to the south. After hours of futile effort to find some one who would meet his English question with a more intelligible answer than "No sabe," he would probably be inclined to think that he had by chance crossed over the border of the United States into Mexico.

Through the veins of many of the natives of the Southwest flows the best of Spanish blood. Had their family records been kept, many could trace their descent from the daring Espejo and his party which pushed north as far as the city of Santa Fé in 1582. Yet they have so degenerated and mingled with the Indian tribes that they do little credit to their intrepid ancestors. There is no higher compliment than to call a native of the Southwest a Spaniard. The rich and educated insist upon being so called, the remainder being Mexicans or, somewhat contemptuously, "greasers." The greaser is the interesting, picturesque fellow.

The most fruitful region in interesting types is the Rio Grande valley. There they are more Americanized than back on the mesas and in the mountains—the cattle and sheep country where the out-of-doors, nomadic life adds a wild, savage turn to the already evil-looking fellow—but they are still far removed from the commonplace. One spring day, the same on which most of the photographs illustrating this article were taken, I started south from Albuquerque along the Rio Grande. The river was swollen to a wide, muddy stream, the *acequias* were running bank full, and the fields were flooded with water. The budding trees were alive with birds, all the various members of the blackbird family, even to the beautiful yellow-neck fellow, singing in grand concert. Fence-post after fence-post was glorified as the seat of the prince of warblers—the meadow-lark. The robins, not yet gone north, dug in the soft earth for the fat angleworms, and chirped and chuckled at each new find. This irrigated valley is a garden spot.

Now and then we passed a ranch-house built of adobe, in that style which has ever proven effective for defense, the house opening only on an inclosed court formed by a high wall, the barn, and other outbuildings. All who enter pass through one massive gate into the court, and here, in grand confusion, live the Mexicans, with their horses, cattle, chickens, hogs, and dogs. Every two or three miles the houses get closer together, clustering around a little adobe church with its painted wooden cross and heavy bell ornamenting the plain exterior. These little towns take the name of the church, and it would be difficult to tell where one begins and the other ends.



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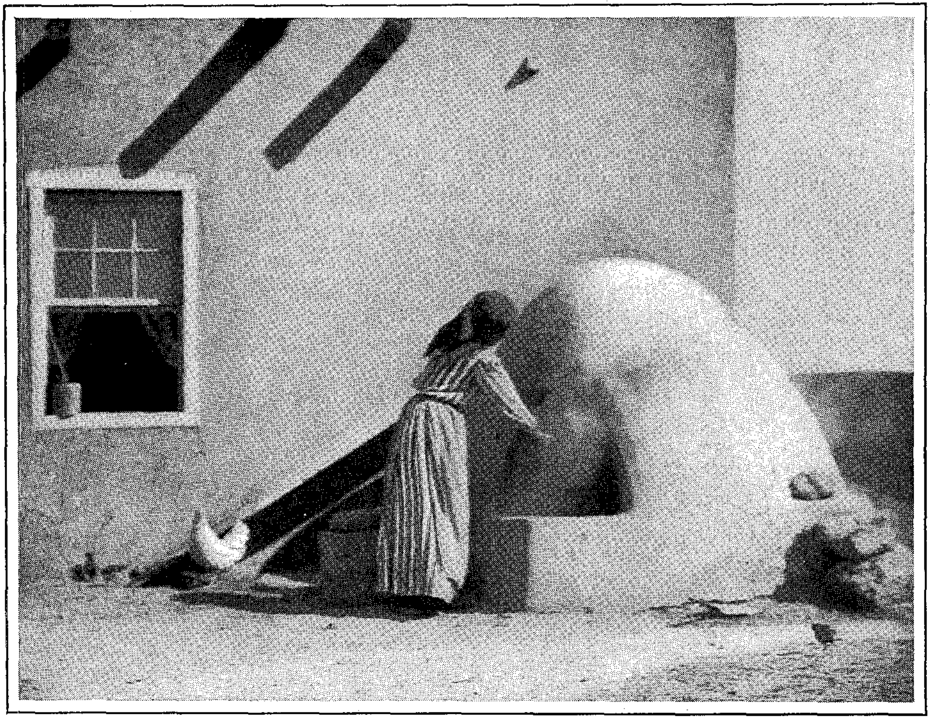
AN OLD CITIZEN OF NEW MEXICO

As we neared a church we heard the bell tolling, and, rounding a corner, we saw a small company coming down the dusty road. Bareheaded men walked ahead, six bearing a coffin, while behind trailed fifty or more women, each with a black shawl over her head, and all wailing and moaning. They passed into the little church, dimly lighted by a few candles, and there chanted, without a priest, the most dismal of funeral ceremonies. As the body was borne to the grave in the churchyard the women remained inside, seemingly vying with one another in vocal powers as they wailed and moaned. It was all very depressing until of a sudden they broke up into little groups and went off chatting, laughing, and smoking cigarettes. It made me think of the hired mourners of China. At another little town we were surprised to see a woman kneeling in the road, and in front of houses near by were others in the same devout attitude. The explanation was forthcoming when a procession headed by a priest in his robes and followed by girls in white came into view. The devout always kneel at the approach of a priest. The procession went to the house of a sick man, and the girls in white had just taken their first communion. These people are deeply religious, but seldom moral, and are completely under the power of the



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BAKING DAY AT A NEW MEXICO HOME

Roman Church. There are some problems in the Southwest akin to those which face us in the Philippines and not unlike those with which President Diaz has dealt so summarily in Mexico.

An Indian pueblo which we passed through further on differed but little from the Mexican towns—a little more compactly built, that was all.

By evening we had reached the home of a friend, Abel Apodacca, and drove through the big gate into the court. Here we unharnessed our horses, watered them at the old-fashioned well, and, throwing the feed on the ground, turned them loose. Baking was in progress in the beehive-like oven in the courtyard, the progress of which we watched with interest. Fire having been kept in it for hours, the coals and ashes were raked out and bread and meat put in. These ovens do the best of baking. Abel is quite American, and we were not surprised on entering his house (the walls of which were of adobe nearly two feet thick, the floor and roof of the same useful material, in the first case tramped as hard as rock, in the latter spread thick on poles and baked hard by rain and sun) to find a trunk, an iron bed, and a cook-stove. None, however, were used for their intended purposes. The bed was an ornament used only by visitors who did not know better, the trunk had a few precious things in it, and the stove was a cupboard, a fire never having been lighted in it. By an open fire Mrs. Apodacca cooked our supper, which we ate sitting crosslegged on the floor, the dishes set upon a sheepskin which at night was part of some one's bed. We ate from common dishes without knives or forks, dipping out the *frijoles* (beans), *chille con carne* (chunks of meat swimming in the quintessence of red pepper), with pieces of *tortilla* (pancake). We drank our coffee, which was strong and vile, from a gourd. Being wise in matters of Mexican houses, we made our bed in the open court.

The men of this race are seldom handsome, nor the women pretty. The handsome, dashing cavalier and the beautiful señorita with whom the fictionist has peopled the Southwest land are more romantic than real. The people are small, dark, swarthy, unusually dirty, and meanly clad. The women wear black shawls over their heads, thinking thus to look like the Mother Mary, but they delight in bright colors and often indulge in them to the total disregard of harmony. They invariably smoke cigarettes, men and women sitting idly in the sun for hours smoking and chatting.

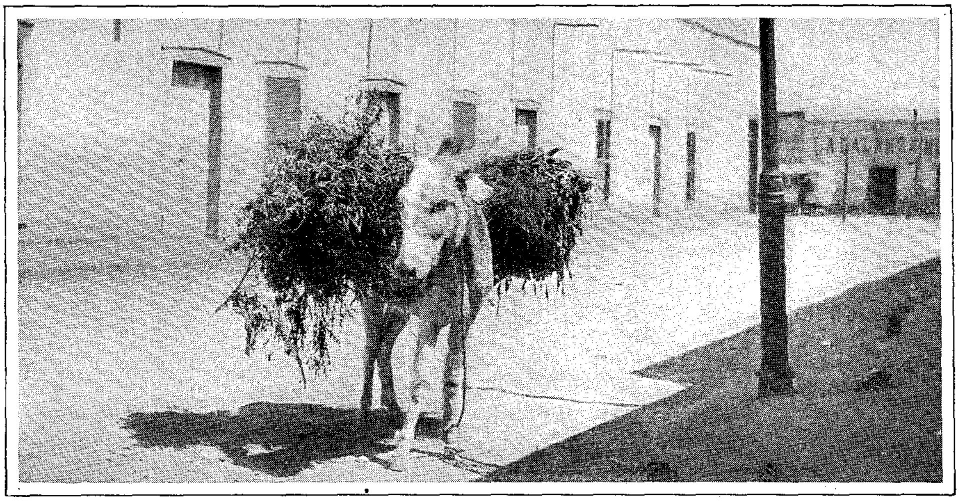
Until recently the children were taught in Spanish, and even now there are many private schools in which Spanish is used. The church schools as well as the public schools are now teaching in English, but the teachers oftentimes have a better knowledge of Spanish than of English, and little real headway is made against the mother tongue. Upon visiting a school in charge of two Sisters, they had the twenty children sing for me:

> "Good-morning, gentle sunshine,
> What made you come so soon?
> You drove the little stars away,
> And scared away the moon."

They sang without expression or tune, and a Latin verse would have been as intelligible to them and as easily learned. Some of the Protestant churches have established missions and schools in which commendable work is being done.

Most impartial people who have become acquainted with the people and affairs of New Mexico feel that it would be a mistake to grant the Territory Statehood. The people spring from a stock which has ever shown itself incapable of self-government, and they have improved very little since they became Americans. They are led by dishonest and unscrupulous men, neither demanding nor expecting honesty in office. In one county in New Mexico the sheriff, without other income than his office, openly spends two or three times his lawful salary. He only makes a pretense of turning in fees; but the majority of the Mexicans vote for him and his gang because he is lavish to them with his, or rather the county's, money. In another county there is not one cent of the public money turned into the treasury, but the dishonest officeholders are continued in office. The people care little for Statehood, being influenced by the political office-seekers and large property-owners.

I have often been asked whether these people are at heart loyal citizens of the United States, and in turn I have many times asked the question. It is too sweeping to answer directly; but there is no doubt that, in case of war between the United States and Mexico, a large portion of the uneducated non-English-speaking population would sympathize with, if not openly aid, the enemy. Few speak English or want to learn. American customs and the spirit of progress do not appeal to them. Now and then you find a spark of it, and it gives you joy. One night I stopped at a hut in the mountains. The two boys of the family had been to the Presbyterian mission school in Albuquerque, and spoke fairly well. Finding in the house a little United States flag which they had brought home, I pointed to it and said to the old man, "Americano?" and with great feeling he replied, "O, mucho Americano."



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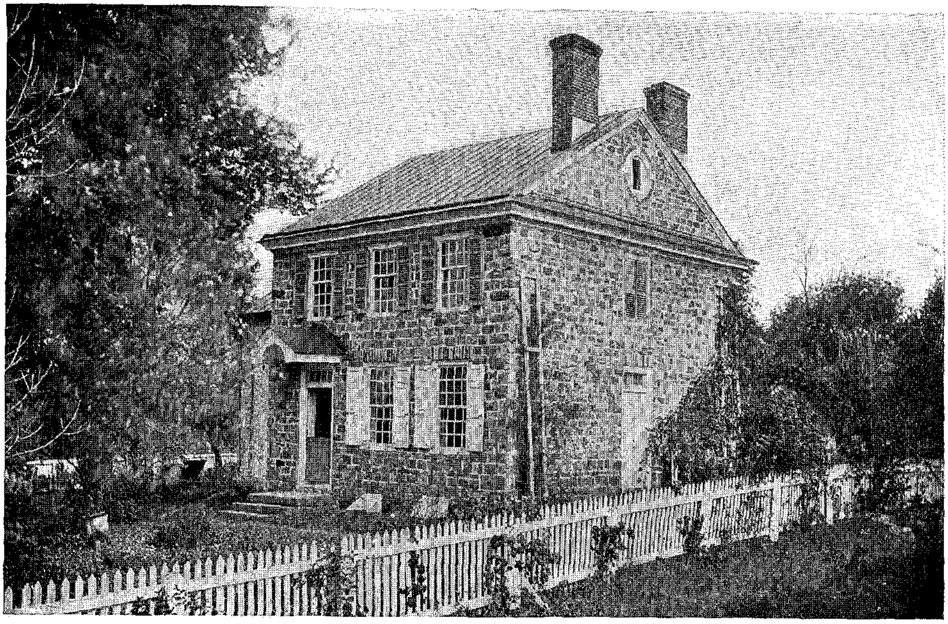
A FAMILIAR STREET SCENE



WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS AT VALLEY FORGE

A subject in which the Society is interested.

The Preservation of Scenic Places in America

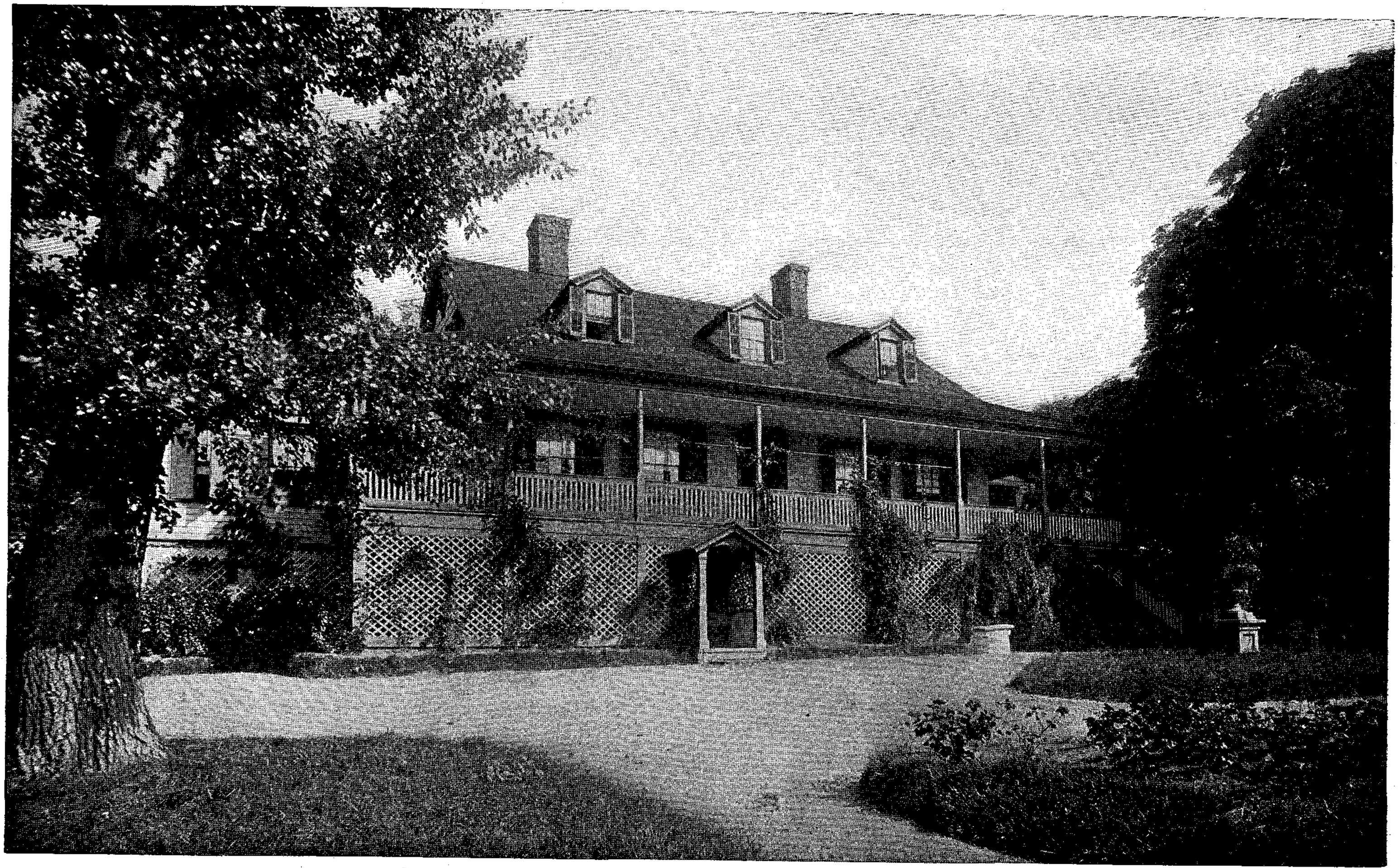
By Katherine L. Smith

THE preservation of old and interesting places which have been hallowed by association or are attractive for beauty is interesting several National organizations, notably that of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society. This National organization of men and women has for its aim the protection of beautiful features of the natural landscape from destruction either by physical alterations or the erection of unsightly structures, the preservation of remarkable geological formations, and the saving from obliteration of names, places, and objects identified with National or local history.

This Society was founded by its President, the Hon. Andrew H. Green, of New York, and numbers among its active members such influential persons as George W. Perkins, of the New York Life Insurance Company; J. P. Morgan; the Hon. Abram S. Hewitt, and others. The Daughters of the American Revolution and the Colonial Dames are also working along similar lines, and it is hoped that a little at least of our heritage of the past in beauty and history may be saved from the hands of vandals and the ravages of time.

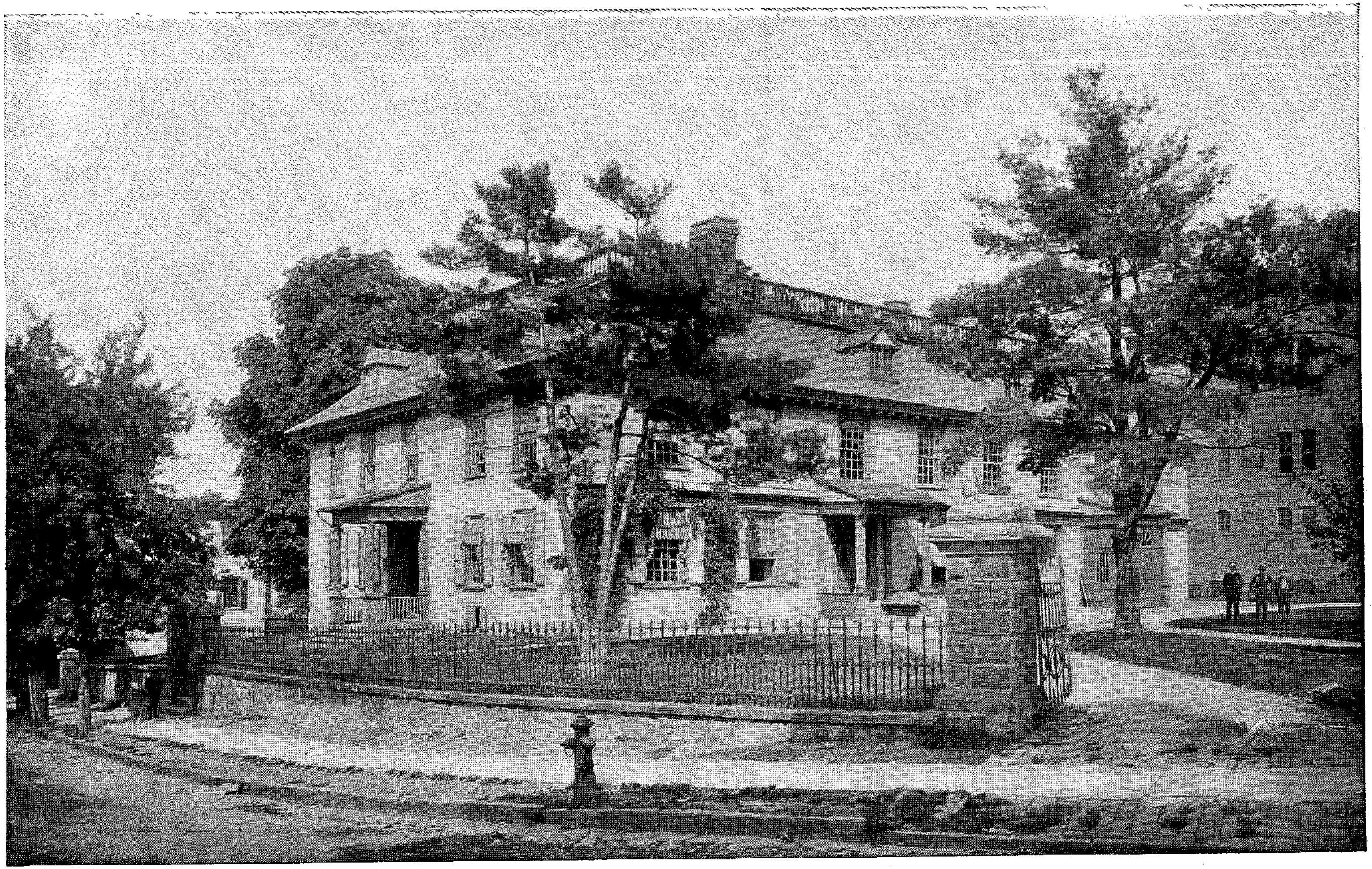
Prominent among efforts in these directions is the purchase by the State of New York and the rehabilitation of the historic Stony Point Battlefield on the Hudson, and the thirty-odd acres at the head of Lake George, made famous by events during the French and Indian and Revolutionary Wars, and selected by Cooper as the principal scene of his romantic novel "The Last of the Mohicans." Efforts are also being made to preserve Watkins Glen as a State Reservation and to make it a free country park. In this case it is hoped visitors will be attracted from all over the country and the place will become more familiar to the traveling public.

No visitor to historic places can help a



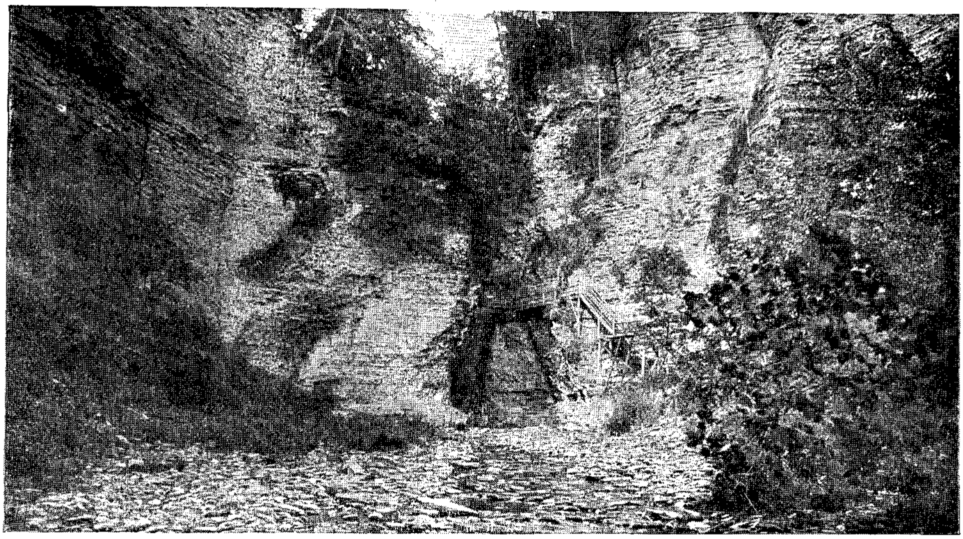
THE MORRIS MANOR-HOUSE—WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS

Last year the Society secured the passage of an ordinance to take the mansion and grounds as public property. This was vetoed on a technicality, but will probably pass this year.



PHILIPSE MANOR-HOUSE, YONKERS, N. Y.

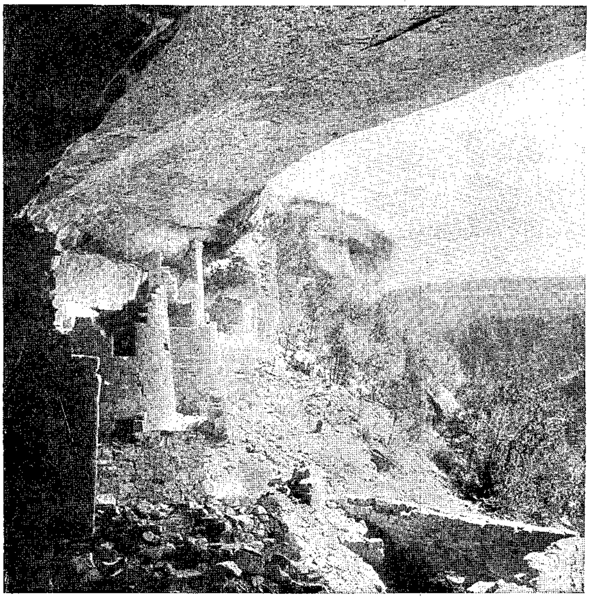
Now used as the City Hall. The Society hopes to have it bought by the State, to be preserved.



WATKINS GLEN

For three years the Society has secured the introduction of a bill for the creation of a State Park embracing Watkins Glen. The bill has not yet passed.

feeling of gratitude when he finds the picturesque has been left untouched. We owe more than a debt of thankfulness to the energetic women who have preserved the birthplace of the flag in Philadelphia, have given contributions to the collections in Independence Hall, have preserved the landmarks at Valley Forge, and have prevented the destruction or desecration of buildings made sacred by their association with American history.

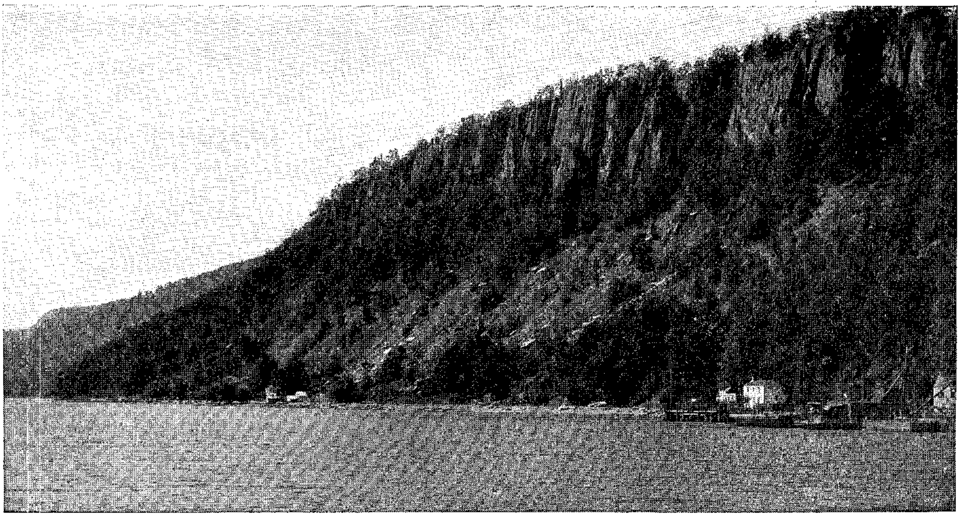


THE COLORADO CLIFF DWELLINGS

The Society is trying to preserve these from wanton vandalism.

In 1900 the American Scenic and Historic Society began its notable achievement of preserving the world-renowned Palisades of the Hudson. Through its intercession both New Jersey and New York became interested, and we have now every prospect of an inter-State park, with drive, from Fort Lee to Nyack. By these means one of the most interesting spots in our country will be saved from the stone-quarryman and disfigurement. The ruins of Forts Crown Point and Ticonderoga are similar objects of solicitude.

Nor are the efforts of these societies confined to the Eastern States alone, for their interest is widespread, and they co-operate with local societies and lend aid when asked to do so in every State in the Union, from the shores of Lake Champlain to the extreme West. The preservation of the giant sequoias of California is a matter of solicitude, not alone to the State in which they are situated, but to these societies, who are using every effort to help save these leafy giants, which are the growth of centuries and which hundreds of years cannot replace. In another part of the West the women of Colorado, aided by outside societies, are



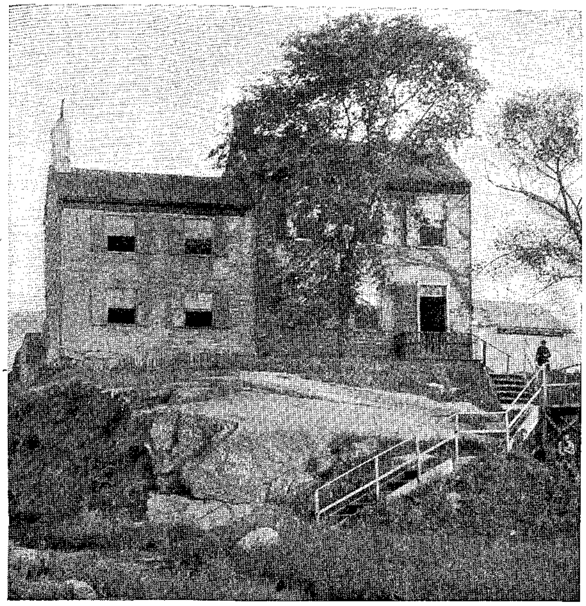
THE HUDSON RIVER PALISADES

The Society represented the State of New York in securing the legislation which created the Palisades Inter-State Park Commission.

struggling to preserve the picturesque ruins of the Cliff Dwellers and to save from wanton vandalism and stealing the pottery and relics of this interesting race. This, the only spot in America where prehistoric barbarism can be studied in its entirety, is at last to be preserved, if the untiring efforts of speech and press can accomplish it.

Another object of solicitude are the old buildings of Fort Snelling at the head of the Mississippi River. Situated on a commanding bluff overlooking the great Father of Waters, this fort was for years the resting and protecting place of the missionary, the trader, and the early settler. It possesses a round stone tower built in 1820 for the safety of women and children in case of an attack by the Indians, and, aside from historic associations, is one of the most picturesque spots to be found in the Northwest.

These societies realize that every movement for the beautification of municipal or country environment should take into consideration, not only the pleasure and gratification of the adult population, but of the coming generation as well, for they will reap the benefit of reforms. For this reason the preservation of fine architectural relics of colonial days is receiving special attention. Washington's headquarters in New York City, the home of Aaron Burr and Washington, with a fine location, architectural beauties, and historic associations, the Alexander Hamilton residence, and the cottage in which Poe wrote many of his beautiful poems, are among the many dwellings that these societies feel it desirable to preserve. Already alive to similar undertakings,



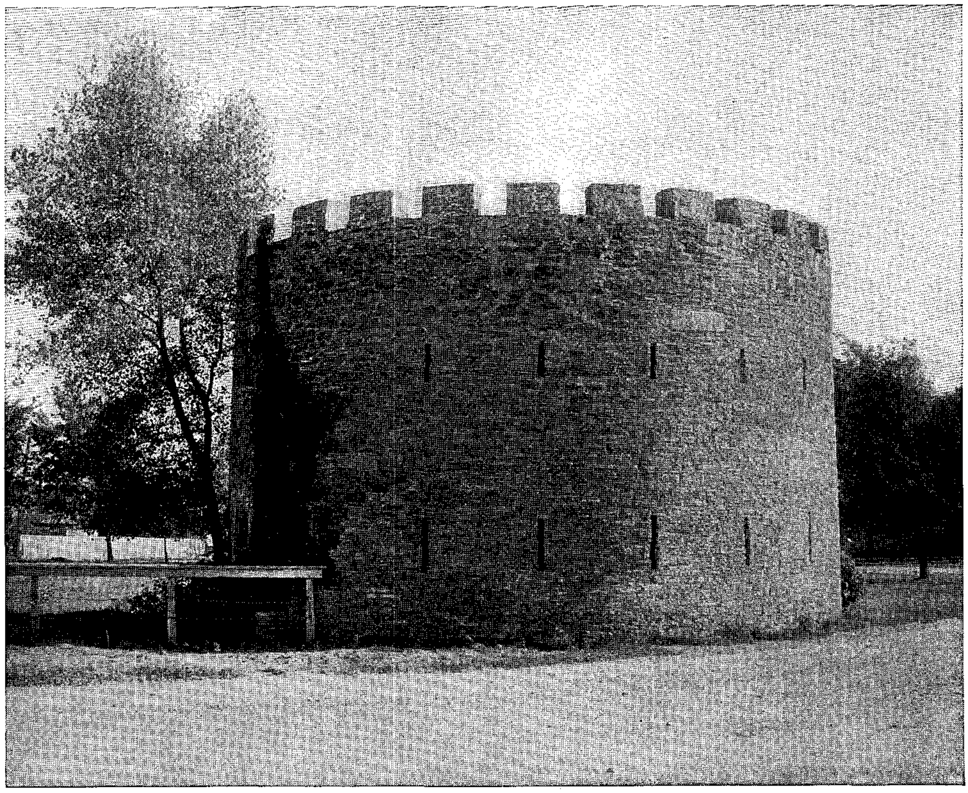
HOME OF EDGAR ALLAN POE

It should be preserved.

Boston has her Old South Church and Faneuil Hall, and Philadelphia her Betsey Ross House and Independence Hall, whose value as objects of beauty and historic association have long been recognized by these places. The Philipse Manor House in Yonkers, and the Johnson Mansion in Johnston, will also be preserved.

Another instance of the work of those interested in these movements is the department of nomenclature, which gives prizes in money, books, and medals for the best names proposed for bridges, streets, and public places. The shocking disregard of harmony in names and surroundings, and total lack of any appeal to the imagination, have called forth this movement with the idea of obtaining names commensurate with dignity and beauty.

These are a few of the ways in which these societies aim to better conditions locally and Nationally. No one can help being in sympathy with their objects, and the widespread organization of such bodies is to be desired. We can all of us work toward the creation of a sentiment which forbids that things of permanent value to the Nation can be made a subject of money-getting. It is easy to mar the beauties of Nature, but difficult to restore them when once injured. The New World is still new; but our National life has already its sacred places which should be preserved for historical associations and the beauties they possess.



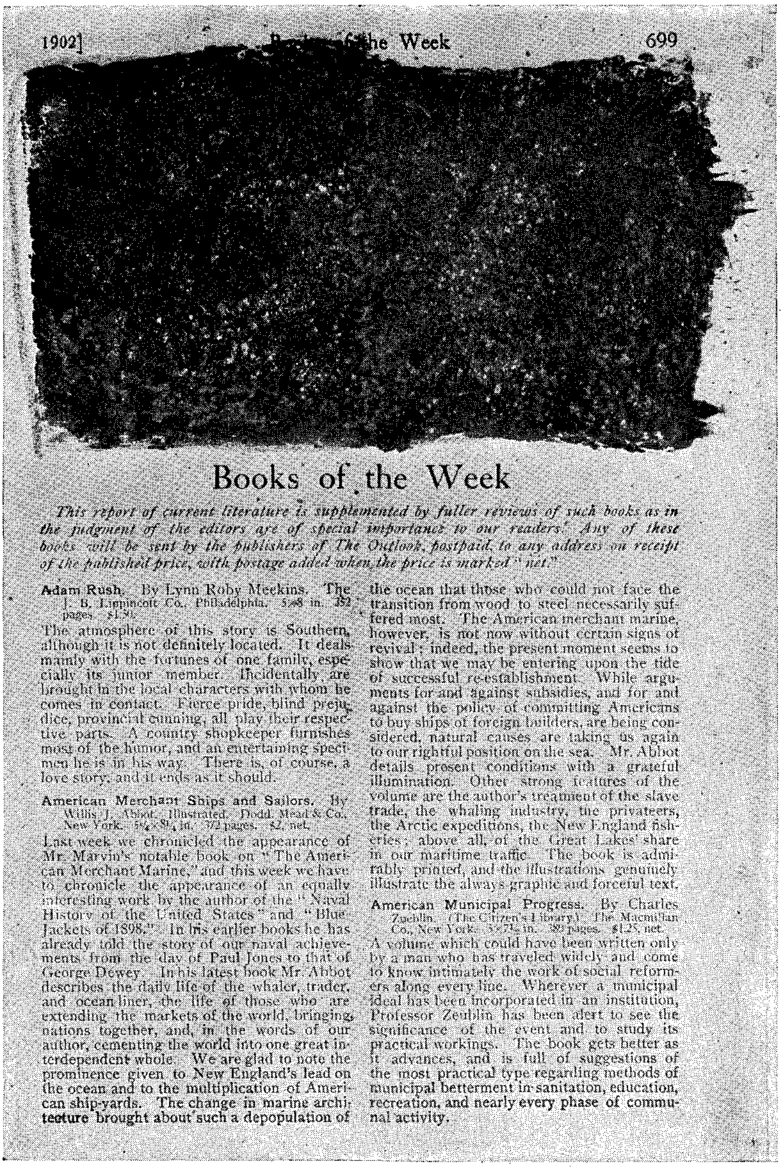
THE ROUND TOWER AT FORT SNELLING

It is planned to make this a museum.

Fame

By Edwin Henry Keen

A fig for Fame, and little care
That Life be short or long,
If Love that lived within the heart
Still lingers in the Song!



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Books of the Week

This report of current literature is supplemented by fuller reviews of such books as in the judgment of the editors are of special importance to our readers. Any of these books will be sent by the publishers of The Outlook, postpaid, to any address on receipt of the published price, with postage added when the price is marked "net."

Adam Rush. By Lynn Roby Meekins. The J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia. 5×8 in. 352 pages. $1.50.

The atmosphere of this story is Southern, although it is not definitely located. It deals mainly with the fortunes of one family, especially its junior member. Incidentally are brought in the local characters with whom he comes in contact. Fierce pride, blind prejudice, provincial cunning, all play their respective parts. A country shopkeeper furnishes most of the humor, and an entertaining specimen he is in his way. There is, of course, a love story, and it ends as it should.

American Merchant Ships and Sailors. By Willis J. Abbot. Illustrated. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. 5¼×8¼ in. 372 pages. $2, net.

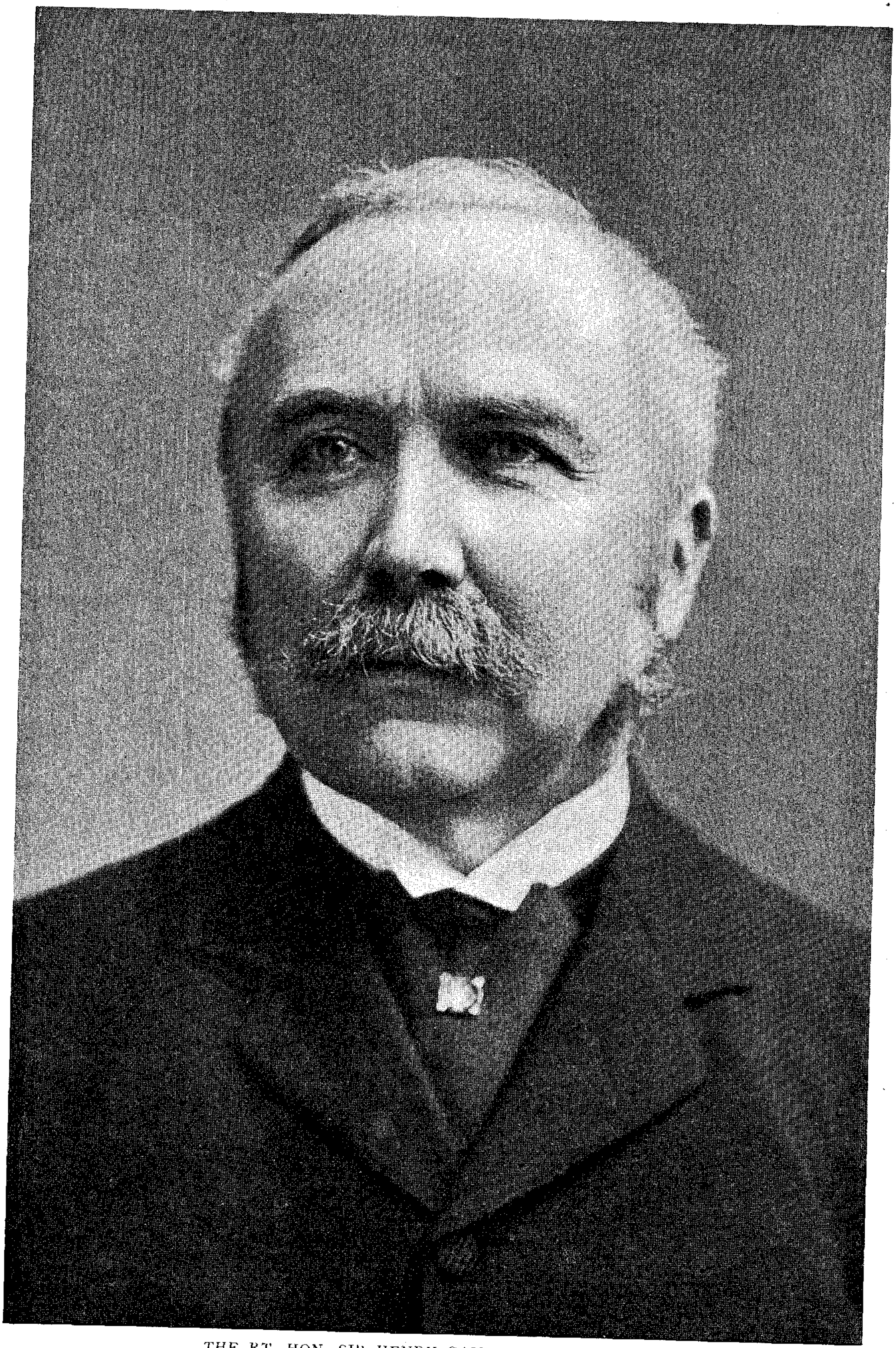
Last week we chronicled the appearance of Mr. Marvin's notable book on "The American Merchant Marine," and this week we have to chronicle the appearance of an equally interesting work by the author of the "Naval History of the United States" and "Blue Jackets of 1898." In his earlier books he has already told the story of our naval achievements from the day of Paul Jones to that of George Dewey. In his latest book Mr. Abbot describes the daily life of the whaler, trader, and ocean liner, the life of those who are extending the markets of the world, bringing nations together, and, in the words of our author, cementing the world into one great interdependent whole. We are glad to note the prominence given to New England's lead on the ocean and to the multiplication of American ship-yards. The change in marine architecture brought about such a depopulation of the ocean that those who could not face the transition from wood to steel necessarily suffered most. The American merchant marine, however, is not now without certain signs of revival; indeed, the present moment seems to show that we may be entering upon the tide of successful re-establishment. While arguments for and against subsidies, and for and against the policy of committing Americans to buy ships of foreign builders, are being considered, natural causes are taking us again to our rightful position on the sea. Mr. Abbot details present conditions with a grateful illumination. Other strong features of the volume are the author's treatment of the slave trade, the whaling industry, the privateers, the Arctic expeditions, the New England fisheries; above all, of the Great Lakes' share in our maritime traffic. The book is admirably printed, and the illustrations genuinely illustrate the always graphic and forceful text.

American Municipal Progress. By Charles Zueblin. (The Citizen's Library.) The Macmillan Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 380 pages. $1.25, net.

A volume which could have been written only by a man who has traveled widely and come to know intimately the work of social reformers along every line. Wherever a municipal ideal has been incorporated in an institution, Professor Zeublin has been alert to see the significance of the event and to study its practical workings. The book gets better as it advances, and is full of suggestions of the most practical type regarding methods of municipal betterment in sanitation, education, recreation, and nearly every phase of communal activity.

The Russian Censor and The Outlook

Our readers may remember that some months ago we printed a picture of a page of our excellent contemporary, "The Literary Digest," which had been liberally blackened, for no ascertainable reason, by the Russian censor. Herewith we present an example of the treatment The Outlook receives from the same supreme authority. We are told by a correspondent that scarcely a number of The Outlook comes through without being mutilated or blackened. In this particular case we are not greatly surprised, as the portion of the page here stamped with black contains the last paragraphs of Mr. George Kennan's review of Mr. Henry Norman's book, "All the Russias," ending, "I might differ with the author as to the relative importance of the parts which will be played in the twentieth century by the Russia of the Czars and the Russia of the People."



THE RT. HON. SIR HENRY CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman

By Justin McCarthy

Author of "A History of Our Own Times," "The Story of Gladstone's Life," etc.

SIR HENRY CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN has but lately come to hold that position in the House of Commons and in the political world which those who knew him well always believed him destined to attain. He is now not merely the nominal leader of the Liberal Opposition in the House of Commons, but he is universally regarded as one of the very small number of men who could possibly be chosen for such a place. Sir William Harcourt and Mr. John Morley are the only Liberal members of the House who could compare with Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman for influence with the Liberal party, the House of Commons, and the general public. Yet the time is not far distant when he was commonly regarded in the House as a somewhat heavy, not to say stolid, man, one of whom nothing better could be said than that he would probably be capable of quiet, steady work in some subordinate department. I remember well that when Campbell-Bannerman was appointed Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in 1884, a witty Irish member explained the appointment by the suggestion that Gladstone had made use of Campbell-Bannerman on the principle illustrated by the employment of a sand-bag as part of the defenses of a military fort. Campbell-Bannerman had, in fact, none of the temperament which makes a man anxious to display himself in debate, and whenever, during his earlier years of Parliamentary life, he delivered a speech in the House of Commons, his desire seemed to be to get through the task as quickly as possible and be done with it. He appears to be a man of a naturally reserved habitude, with indeed something of shyness about him, and a decided capacity for silence wherever there is no pressing occasion for speech, whether in public or in private.

Many whom I knew were at one time inclined to regard Campbell-Bannerman as a typical specimen of his Scottish compatriots, who are facetiously said to joke with difficulty. As a matter of fact, Campbell-Bannerman has a keen and delightful sense of humor, and can illustrate the weakness of an opponent's case better than some recognized wits could do, by a few happy touches of sarcasm. He is in every sense of the word a strong man, and, like some other strong men, only seemed to know his own strength and to be capable of putting it into action when hard fortune had brought him into political difficulties through which it appeared well-nigh impossible that he could make his way. Schiller's hero declares that it must be night before his star can shine, and although Campbell-Bannerman is not quite so poetic and picturesque a figure as Wallenstein, yet I think he might fairly comfort himself by some such encouraging reflection. He had gone through a long and hard-working career in the House of Commons before the world came to know anything of his strength, his judgment, and his courage. He got his education at the University of Glasgow and afterwards at Trinity College, Cambridge, and he obtained a seat in the House of Commons for a Scottish constituency as a Liberal when he was still but a young man. He has held various offices in Liberal administrations. He was Secretary to the Admiralty in 1882, and was Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland for a short time a little later. There is not much to be said about his Irish administration. He governed the country about as well as any English Minister could have done under such conditions, for this was before Gladstone and the Liberal party had been converted to the principle of Home Rule for Ireland; and, at all events, he made himself agreeable to those Irishmen with whom he came into contact by his unaffected manners and his quiet good humor. When Gladstone took office in 1886, Campbell-Bannerman became Secretary for War, and

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[1] This forms the eighth of a series of articles on living British statesmen. Subjects already treated are: Mr. Balfour, Lord Salisbury, Mr. John Morley, Mr. Henry Labouchere, Lord Aberdeen, Sir William Harcourt. Other articles will have as their subjects Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, John Redmond, John Burns.

he held the same important position in Gladstone's Ministry of 1892.

The story of that administration tells of a most important epoch in the career of Gladstone and the fortunes of the Liberal party. In 1893 Gladstone brought in his second Home Rule measure for Ireland. His first measure of Home Rule was introduced in 1886, and was defeated in the House of Commons by means of a coalition between the Liberal secessionists and the Conservative Opposition. The Liberal secessionists in the House of Commons, as most of my readers will remember, were led by Joseph Chamberlain. Then there came an interval of Conservative government, and when Gladstone returned to power in 1892 he introduced before long his second measure of Home Rule. The second measure was in many ways a distinct improvement on the first, and in the meantime some of the Liberal secessionists, including Sir George Trevelyan, whose opposition was directed only against certain parts of the first measure, had returned to their allegiance and were ready to give Gladstone all the support in their power for his second attempt. The Home Rule measure was carried through the House of Commons by what we call a substantial although not a great majority, and then it had to go to the House of Lords. Everybody knew in advance what its fate must be in the hereditary chamber. Every great measure of genuine political reform is certain to be rejected in the first instance by the House of Lords. This is the old story, and is repeated again and again with monotonous iteration. The House of Lords always gives way in the end, when the pressure of public opinion from without makes it perilous for the hereditary legislators to maintain their opposition. Therefore the Liberals in general were not much disconcerted by the defeat of the Home Rule measure in the House of Lords. Home Rule for Ireland had been sanctioned by the decisive vote of the House of Commons, and the general impression was that it would only have to be brought in again and perhaps again, according to the usual process with all reform measures, until the opposition of the Lords had been completely borne down. But before the introduction of the second Home Rule measure, some events had taken place which made a great change in the condition of Irish political affairs and put fresh difficulties in the way of Gladstone's new administration.

The Parnell divorce case came on, and led to a serious division in the ranks of the Irish National party and in Irish public opinion. The great majority of Parnell's followers refused to regard him as their leader any longer, and those who determined to support him and to follow him through thick and thin were but a very small minority. Gladstone was firmly convinced, as were the majority of the Irish Nationalist members, that Parnell ought to retire, for a time at least, from the leadership of his party, if not indeed from public life, and keep aloof from active politics until the scandal of the divorce court should have been atoned for by him and should have passed to some extent from public memory. Gladstone was convinced that if Parnell remained the leader of the Irish party it would be almost impossible to arouse in the British constituencies any enthusiasm in the cause of Home Rule strong enough to bring back the Liberals to power and to carry a Home Rule measure. This was a reasonable and practical view of the question, but Parnell and his followers resented it as a positive insult, and Parnell issued a manifesto denouncing Gladstone, the immediate result of which was that break-up of the Home Rule party I have already mentioned. Not very long after came Parnell's early death. It may well be supposed that such events as these must have made a deep and discouraging impression on Gladstone's hopes for the success of the second Home Rule measure. The Irish National party had been broken up for the time, and some even of Gladstone's colleagues in office had allowed themselves to be mastered by the old familiar idea that as Irishmen could not be brought to agree for long on any plan of action, it was futile for English Liberals to put themselves to any inconvenience for the sake of an Irish National cause. Such men might have found it difficult to point out any great measure of political reform in England concerning which the English people had always been in absolute agreement and about which there was no conflict of angry emotion in any section of English representatives. But the fact remained, all the same, that the dispute in the Irish party had brought a chill to the zeal of many influential English Liberals for the Home Rule cause, and we have had in much more recent days abundant evidence that the chilling influence is with them still.

Among Gladstone's official colleagues there were some who held that the time had come when an appeal ought to be made to the country by means of a dissolution and a general election against the domination of the House of Lords. This appears to have been the opinion of Gladstone himself. Others of his colleagues, however, held back from such an issue, while admitting that the moment did not seem favorable for an appeal to the country on the distinct question of Irish Home Rule. The general impression on the public mind was that the decision of the Cabinet was certain to be in favor of an appeal to the country on the one issue or the other, and much surprise was felt when it began to be more and more evident that the Government intended to go on with the ordinary business of the State, as if nothing had happened. The outer world has as yet had no means of knowing what the reasons or the influences were which induced Gladstone and his colleagues to come to this determination. The whole truth will probably never be known until John Morley's Life of Gladstone shall make its appearance. We may safely assume in the meantime that Gladstone had the best reasons for taking the course which he adopted, and that he would have made an appeal to the country against the decision of the House of Lords if he had believed the conditions were favorable for such a challenge just then. Probably Gladstone knew only too well that even among his own colleagues there were some who were turning cold upon the question of Home Rule, who had never accepted his views on that subject with whole-hearted willingness, and could not have been relied upon as steadfast adherents in such a struggle. I think I shall be fully justified by any revelations which history or biography has yet to make, when I say that Campbell-Bannerman was among those who would have faithfully followed the great leader to the very last in whatever struggle he had made up his mind to encounter. There were, of course, many others of Gladstone's colleagues—men like Sir William Harcourt and John Morley and James Bryce—on whom their leader could have safely reckoned for the same unswerving fidelity and courage. But, whatever were the reasons, there was no appeal made to the country, and the administration went on with its ordinary work in a dull, mechanical fashion. The effect upon the Liberal party was most depressing. Men could not understand why nothing decisive had been done, and at the same time were haunted by a foreboding that some great change was impending over the Liberal party.

The foreboding soon came to be justified. On the 1st of March, 1894, Gladstone delivered his last speech in the House of Commons. The speech dealt with the action of the House of Lords on a subject of comparatively slight importance. The Lords had rejected a measure dealing with the constitution of parish councils, which had been passed by the House of Commons. Gladstone spoke with severity in condemnation of the course taken by the House of Lords. Towards the close of his speech he said: "My duty terminates with calling the attention of this House to a fact which it is really impossible to set aside, that we are considering a part—an essential and inseparable part—of a question enormously large, a question which has become profoundly a truth, a question that will demand a settlement, and must at an early date receive that settlement, from the highest authority." No one who was present in the House when this declaration was made is ever likely to lose the memory of the scene, although not all or even most of those then present quite realized the full significance of Gladstone's words. There were many in the House who did not at once understand that in the words I have quoted the greatest Parliamentary leader of modern times was speaking his farewell to public life. I remember well that a few moments after Gladstone had finished his speech I met John Morley in one of the lobbies, and I asked him if this was really to be taken as the close of Gladstone's career, and he told me, with as much composure as he could command, that in that speech we had heard the last of Gladstone's Parliamentary utterances. That was indeed a memorable day in the history of England, and a day at least equally memorable in the history of Ireland.

I have had to dwell for a while on these historical facts, facts of course known already to all my readers, as a prelude to the most important passages in the Parliamentary career of Campbell-Bannerman. When Gladstone resigned office and withdrew from public life, the question of reconstituting the Liberal administration had to be taken into account. There could be no doubt whatever that the Liberal administration had been much weakened and even discredited by the manner in which it had put up with the domineering action of the House of Lords. The effect on public opinion was all the greater and the more disheartening because it was generally understood that the absence of any such action must have been due to the fact that some of Gladstone's leading colleagues were not prepared to sustain him in the policy he was anxious to carry out. There was therefore a state of something like apathy in the minds of advanced Radicals with regard to any arrangements which seemed likely to be made for the reconstruction of the Ministry. The new administration was formed under the leadership of Lord Rosebery, as Prime Minister, in the House of Lords, and that of Sir William Harcourt as Chancellor of the Exchequer in the House of Commons. There can be little doubt that the composition of the new Ministry was regarded as unsatisfactory by the more advanced Liberals in and outside Parliament. The Liberal party is never of late years quite content with an administration which has its Prime Minister in the House of Lords. The real work must always be done in the House of Commons, and it is obviously most inconvenient that the leader of the Government should be one whose position will not allow him to have a seat in the representative chamber. The condition of things is something like that of an army whose Commander-in-chief can never make his appearance in the encampment or take part in any of the great battles. Even at that time Lord Rosebery, although a most brilliant debater and a capable administrator, was beginning to be regarded as one whose Liberalism was somewhat losing color and whose whole heart was by no means in the advanced policy of Gladstone. There was nothing better to be done, however, at the time than to make the most of the altered conditions, and the new Ministry went to work as well as it could. Campbell-Bannerman, as Secretary for War, had an opportunity of proving his genuine capacity for the duties of his important office. He introduced a new and complete scheme of army reform, which, among other and even more important changes, proposed to bring about the retirement of the Duke of Cambridge from the post of Commander-in-chief. The Duke of Cambridge was even then a man far advanced in years, who had never in his life shown any real capacity for the work of commanding an army, and whose chief recommendation for so great a position must have been found in the fact that he was a member of the royal family. The new measure was making its way steadily enough through the House of Commons, and every one was beginning to see that in Campbell-Bannerman the country had found an administrator of a very high order. Suddenly, however, the progress of the measure was interrupted by what seemed to be at first only a trivial accident, of which the public in general were inclined to take but little account. The army reform scheme had arrived at what is known as the committee stage of its progress.

I do not desire to occupy the attention of my readers more than is actually necessary with the mere technical details of Parliamentary procedure, and I shall only explain that when a bill reaches the committee stage its general principle must have been already accepted by the majority in the House, and the House then forms itself into committee for the purpose of discussing the mere details of the proposed arrangements. During one of the sittings a Conservative member proposed a motion declaring that the Government, or at least the War Office, had not made proper provision for the supply of the material of cordite to the army. This was so purely a technical question, concerning which only soldiers and scientific men could be supposed to have had any means of forming an opinion, that the House troubled itself very little about the whole discussion. But when the House came to take a division on the proposal, the Government was defeated by a majority of seven. This defeat, however, produced at first only a very slight effect on the House in general. During the committee stage of a measure it is quite a matter of ordinary occurrence that a Ministry should be defeated on some question of mere arrangement and detail, and very few in the House of Commons suspected on that occasion that such a vote was likely to bring with it an important Parliamentary crisis. Campbell-Bannerman, however, took a very different view of the event. He appears to have made up his mind that the decision of the House was a distinct vote of censure on his administration, and that he could not continue to hold office after such a declaration of disapproval. Now, it may be taken for granted that Campbell-Bannerman was not merely actuated by any personal feeling, by any sense of mere grievance to himself, when he made up his mind to such a resolve. He saw clearly that the Government had lost the confidence and the support of the country, and that the sooner the whole futile attempt at administration under such conditions came to an end the better it would be for the business of the State. He knew perfectly well that the Liberal administration was falling to pieces, that its leading members were no longer inspired alike by one great policy, that some of its leaders had ceased to be Liberals in the traditional meaning of the word, and that sooner or later the catastrophe must come. Those of Campbell-Bannerman's colleagues who were as genuine and stanch Liberals as he soon came into agreement with him as to the course that ought to be pursued, and it was made known before long to the House of Commons that the Liberal Ministers had resigned their offices and that the long-postponed appeal to the country was to be made at last. Thus for the first time it became known to the public that Campbell-Bannerman was already a power in political life.

Parliament was dissolved and the appeal to the country was made at the general election which necessarily followed. Few Liberals had the slightest doubt as to the result of the appeal. Some of the very measures introduced by the fallen Government which had the strong approval of many advanced Liberals had put certain powerful interests and classes against those who represented such a policy. Sir William Harcourt's "death duties" had aroused the indignation of rich men here, there, and everywhere. The measures which the same statesman had endeavored to carry for putting the liquor trade under the control of "local option" had turned the publicans into an organized opposition against Liberal administrators. The result of the general election was the defeat of the Liberal party, and the formation of a Conservative government with Lord Salisbury at its head holding office as Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary at once, and with Arthur Balfour as First Lord of the Treasury and leader of the House of Commons. The Liberals were weakened in every sense, not merely by the fact that they had come back to Parliament no longer as a Government but only as an Opposition. They were rendered by their internal divisions too weak for effective work as an Opposition. Lord Rosebery continued for the time to act as leader of the Liberal party, while Sir William Harcourt of course became leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons. It soon was made quite clear that the Liberal party could not work together so far as its leaders were concerned. It was evident that men like Harcourt and John Morley and Campbell-Bannerman could not act in any cordial union with Lord Rosebery and those Liberals who accepted Lord Rosebery's policy. The result of all this was that Lord Rosebery resigned the leadership of the party and has ever since seemed inclined to start a Liberal party of his own, and that Sir William Harcourt did not believe he was likely to receive such a united support in the House of Commons as would enable him to maintain the leadership of the party in that House with any satisfaction to himself or the country. Harcourt therefore ceased to hold that position; and now came for the first time the opportunity for Campbell-Bannerman. He was chosen leader of the Liberal party in the House of Commons, and he had before him, under all the conditions, a task which might well have seemed hopeless. Lord Rosebery kept on, from that time to this, delivering speeches all over the country which could only be interpreted as the expression of his desire to call into being a new Liberal party professing a political creed differing in its main characteristics from that which had been proclaimed and carried on by Gladstone. Rosebery renounced Home Rule for Ireland, and refused to act on Gladstone's principles with regard to the protection of Christians in the East against the alternating tyranny and neglect of the Ottoman Government.

Never within my recollection had any leader of a Liberal party in the House of Commons come into a position of such difficulty and disheartenment as that which Campbell-Bannerman had now to maintain. It has, of course, often been the lot of the Liberal party to come into the House of Commons with diminished numbers, and have to carry on as best it could be done the battle against a Conservative Government of overwhelming numerical strength. But the peculiar trouble which beset Campbell-Bannerman was that he could not count upon the allegiance of all his nominal followers. He knew that so long as he showed himself determined to maintain the policy of Gladstone he could reckon without fear on the support of such men as Harcourt and John Morley and Bryce. But there were able men among those who occupied the front bench of Opposition on whom he knew he could not always count, men who were publicly displaying themselves as the political associates or followers of Lord Rosebery. Campbell-Bannerman went boldly and steadfastly on, never faltering in the least. He upheld the time-honored creed of genuine Liberalism, "never doubted clouds would break," and by his words and his bearing inspired with fresh courage many a genuine Liberal whose faith was not faltering, but whose hopes were sinking low. He proved himself quite equal to the incessant work put upon him by his new position as leader of the Liberal party in the House of Commons. He developed a capacity for debate which only those who knew him well had ever before believed him to possess. During all the wild excitement of Jingoism which followed the movements of the war against the two South African Republics, he never yielded to the temptation which overcame so many other Liberals, the temptation to evade a passing unpopularity by suppressing for the time his opinions on the policy of the war. He must have been sorely tried again and again by the sayings and doings of some who still professed to be members of the Liberal party in Parliament. A new Liberal League was actually formed under the inspiration of Lord Rosebery, and its object apparently was to create a new school of Liberalism which should have nothing to do with the traditions of the party and with the doctrines of men like Gladstone.

Now, if all this had been done in open and avowed antagonism to the existing Liberal party, Campbell-Bannerman might have had a comparatively easy task to undertake. He could have braced himself up to do sturdy battle against the promoters of internal disunion; could have set the whole question plainly and squarely before the public Liberal opinion of the country, and demanded a decisive judgment. But the promoters of the new Liberal League did nothing of the kind. They disclaimed any intention to create disunion in the party. They declared that they were the very best of Liberals, and that nothing could exceed their loyalty to the elected leaders of the Liberal party, and protested that in whatever they did they were only trying to help and not to hinder the work of these leaders. When one of the seceders, or supposed seceders, delivered a speech at some public meeting in which he appeared to repudiate the main principles of the Liberal creed, and an open split in the party seemed to be imminent, some other member of the Liberal League hastened to explain that the meaning of his noble friend or his right honorable colleague had been totally misunderstood. He insisted that the only motive of the previous orator was to promote the whole cordial union of the Liberal party, and, to paraphrase the words of the medical student in "Pickwick" after his quarrel with a fellow-student, that he rather preferred Campbell-Bannerman to his own brother.

Campbell-Bannerman took all these performances with serene good humor. As I have already said, those who know him are well aware that he has a keen, quiet sense of humor, and I feel sure that he must have been often much amused by the odd vagaries of those who would neither fall into the ranks nor admit that they wanted to keep out of the ranks. He has gone steadily on as he began since it became his duty to lead the Liberal opposition in the House of Commons. He has done the work of leader honorably, patiently, consistently, and fearlessly, and he is recognized as leader by all true Liberals, English, Scottish, and Welsh, and he has never fallen away in the slightest degree from the principles of Gladstone where Home Rule and the other just claims of the Irish people are concerned. He has kept the Liberal flag flying, and the whole Liberalism of the country is already beginning to rally round him and to recognize his leadership. Increasing responsibility has only developed in him new capacity to maintain the responsible place. We may well believe that he is destined to do great service yet to the Liberal cause, and to win an honorable place in British history. When he first became leader of the Liberal party in the House of Commons, he might almost have seemed to be the leader of a lost cause, but he has fought the fight bravely and will see the victory before long.

Books of the Week

This report of current literature is supplemented by fuller reviews of such books as in the judgment of the editors are of special importance to our readers. Any of these books will be sent by the publishers of The Outlook, postpaid, to any address on receipt of the published price, with postage added when the price is marked " net."

Among the Trees Again. By Evaleen Stein. The Bowen-Merrill Co., Indianapolis. 4×7 in. 90 pages.

Around the World through Japan. By Walter Del Mar. Illustrated. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5¾×9 in. 435 pages. $3.

The author did much more than follow the beaten route of travel and seek for entertainment and the picturesque. He looked into the domestic and industrial life of the Japanese pretty closely, and his comments are often severely critical. For instance, he declares positively that it is almost impossible to hold Japanese merchants to their contracts, and that they are noted for "organized dishonesty;" that even at the Government railway ticket offices one gets wrong change more often than not, partly because public servants are so badly paid that they are tempted to dishonesty, and partly because they are so ignorant that they do not calculate correctly. The book has no literary pretensions, and it is thrown together in rather a rough-and-ready way, but it certainly contains a great amount of information. There are some faults of taste in the passages treating of the vice of Japan. Mr. Del Mar visited Hongkong, Shanghai (by the way, he found the Chinese merchant honest beyond cavil), Ceylon, Java, and other places as well as Japan. There are many pictures.

Bethlehem: A Nativity Play. By Laurence Housman. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5×7 in, 76 pages. $1.25, net.

This latest experiment in the field of miracle-play writing cannot be regarded as a notable success. It is a very respectable piece of verse cast in the old form, entirely reverent, and conforming to the requirements of the mediæval miracle-drama; but it is a piece of skill rather than a work of genius; it lacks feeling, and it nowhere convinces the reader. Readers of The Outlook will remember that it was produced as a play in London not long ago, and that it failed to awaken any great interest. It is, at the best, an imitation; and the modern mind is so far removed from the attitude and temper which made the miracle-play possible that it is probably beyond the power of any save a poet of the highest genius and the deepest feeling to recall the piety, the reverence, and the poetry of the miracle-play.

Daughter of Raasay (A). By William MacLeod Raine. The Frederick A. Stokes Co., New York. 5×7½ in. $1.50.

Delight the Soul of Art: Five Lectures. By Arthur Jerome Eddy. The J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia. 5×7¾ in. 287 pages. $1.50, net.

English Essays. Edited by Edward Everett Hale, Jr., Ph.D. (The Hawthorne Classics.) Globe School Book Co., New York. 4½×7 in. 240 pages.

Fatherhood of God (The): In Christian Truth and Life. By J. Scott Lidgett, M.A. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 5½×9 in. 427 pages. $3, net.

Mr. Lidgett's experience as Warden of the Bermondsey Settlement in London has deeply impressed him with the conviction that the ground of social unity and the principles of social co-operation are given only by the Biblical doctrine of the Fatherhood of God. The history of Christian doctrine shows the gradual disappearance of this, the cardinal truth in the New Testament, and more recently its slow and partial recovery. The doctrine of divine Fatherhood, as adumbrated in the Old Testament, and as treated in the successive periods of Church history to the present time, is elaborately reviewed. The general influences tending to restore the New Testament conception have been, as stated here, the new apprehension of the humanity of Christ, a recognition of the principle of a developing revelation, and more serious use of the doctrine of the Trinity; also a taking for the starting-point the creation of man instead of his fall, a fuller apprehension of the divine immanence, a sense of the religious worth of the secular life, and a more humane tone of social life. From these tendencies Mr. Lidgett regards the Oxford Movement as essentially reactionary toward the mediæval thought of the divine Sovereignty. On the other hand, he recognizes a modern proclivity to a sentimental weakening of the idea of Fatherhood, obscuring the truth of a righteous Sovereignty. The task of theology at present is so to restate the New Testament doctrine as to give it its true pre-eminence as the ideal for the regulation of the community. Whether Mr. Lidgett has chosen the most effective way to do this by a presentation of the doctrines of the Incarnation and the Atonement, as held by orthodox churches, may be open to a difference of opinion. Those who, though holding to these doctrines in some form, here feel obliged to part company with him, can follow him so far with general satisfaction.

Gentle Art of Making Happy (The). By G. H. Morrison, M.A. The Fleming H. Revell Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 60 pages. 35c., net.

Historic Highways of America. Vol. III. **Washington's Road (Nemacolin's Path).** By Archer Butler Hulbert. Illustrated. The Arthur H. Clark Co., Cleveland, Ohio. 5×7¾ in. 215 pages. $2.50, net.

The third volume of "Historic Highways" is the most interesting yet issued. It tells about Washington's road built over the Indian trail known as "Nemacolin's Path," of which an exquisite illustration forms the frontispiece of the volume. In 1754 the young Virginian lieutenant-colonel opened the road, and Mr. Hulbert is well within the mark in saying that it formed the first and most important link in the chain of Federal union.

History of the Church of Christ (A). By Herbert Kelly. Vol. II. From 324 to 430 A.D. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. 5×7¾ in. 341 pages.

History of the French Revolution. By C. L. James. Abe Isaak, Jr., Chicago. 5×8 in. 343 pages.

This work appeared serially in the pages of "Free Society," Chicago. It is written with some literary ability from the standpoint of philosophical Anarchism, which deems it impossible so to organize government that it shall be beneficent, not tyrannical.

London Manual for 1903 (The). (Seventh Year of Publication.) Edited by Robert Donald. Illustrated. Edward Lloyd, London. 5×7½ in. 3;4 pages.

Manner of Life of Nancy Hempstead (The). By Mary L. B. Branch. C. J. Victs, New London, Conn. 5×9½ in. 29 pages. 35c.

Man's Position in the Universe: A Rough Survey. By W. Sedgwick. George Allen, London. 5×7½ in. 291 pages.

The general theme of this work is the correspondence between the physical and the moral order of nature. This is presented in an analogy between the conflict of good and evil powers for the soul of man, and the conflict of natural forces for the possession of atoms. We are unable to discuss the peculiar corpuscular theory of the author, but the Biblical ideas of which he avails himself for the purpose of his analogy are not all such as hold their own in modern thought.

Manual of Church History (A). By Albert Henry Newman, D.D., LL.D. Vol. II. The American Baptist Publication Society, Philadelphia. 5½×8¼ in. 724 pages. $1.75, net.

This volume sustains the reputation established by its predecessor for critical, sound, and varied learning. While it necessarily touches on many points of controversy, it is eminently characterized by fairness. No other of the standard church histories in the English tongue deals so thoroughly and so fairly with those progenitors of the free democratic, or congregational, type of Christianity who, under the name of Anabaptists, have suffered much from undiscriminating censure. This is a topic of church history that has greatly needed to be rewritten, and to be treated, as Dr. Newman treats it, with that fullness which is essential to judicial fairness. Distinguishing the fanatical Anabaptists, whose premillenarian dreams led on to the outburst of wild license in the sanguinary insurrection of the German peasants in 1525, from those whom he terms "the soundly Biblical" kind, Dr. Newman presents these to us as worthy of our admiration. His interest in this type of Christianity is apparent from the large space he assigns to it in his account of the Anglo-American denominations, in which the Plymouth Brethren occupy more pages than the Methodists. His judgment upon the point at issue in the recent Whittsit controversy, that immersion did not become the rule among English Baptists till after 1640, can hardly fail to grieve some of his Southern brethren, the more so because it is incontrovertible. In connection with his statement that the oldest Congregational churches in Boston and vicinity became Unitarian, the First Church in Lynn, founded in 1632, is to be noted as an exception, though the only one. There is an attractive flavor of freedom and freshness in Dr. Newman's work, though one may occasionally hesitate in accepting his views. In the estimate of Luther, for instance, it may seem that more allowance is to be made for the coarse and half-barbarian temper of that time.

Queen Victoria. By Sidney Lee. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5½×8 in. 611 pages. $3.

Reserved for later notice.

Ralegh in Guiana, etc. By Barrett Wendell. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 5½×8 in. 143 pages. $1.50, net.

Real Things in Nature: A Reading Book of Science for American Boys and Girls. Illustrated. By Edward S. Holden, Sc.D., LL.D. The Macmillan Co., New York. 4½×7 in. 443 pages.

A plainly written series of talks about mechanics, physics, physiology, electricity, natural history, geology, and other branches of science. The author answers clearly just such questions as intelligent American boys would be likely to ask. There are numerous explanatory pictures and diagrams.

Road (The): The Ever-Existent, Universal and Only Religion of God. By Charles Clark Harrah. Scott Heights Book Co., Des Moines, Ia. 5×6¾ in. 144 pages. 25c.

Sabbath Transferred (The). By Rev. Johns D. Parker, Ph.D. (Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged.) Johns D. Parker & Co., East Orange, N. J. 5×7½ in. 242 pages. $1.50.

The traditional belief is that the observance of one day in seven as holy time was transferred from Saturday to Sunday by Apostolic sanction in the first century. The historical fact is that the observance of the Mosaic Sabbath ceased with the extinction of those who had kept it sacred—the Jewish-Christian section of the Church; while the Gentile-Christians, who thenceforward constituted the Church, had from the first observed Sunday only—the Lord's day. It was not a transfer so much as a survival of the fittest. Dr. Parker's theory is that the Sabbath as an institution was transferred from Saturday to Sunday by divine authority on the morning of the resurrection of Christ. Evidence for this is presented by his translation of Matthew xxviii. 1, where, for the accepted rendering, " toward the first day of the week," he substitutes "*toward one of the Sabbaths*, that is, the Christian Sabbath." The implication of this phrase seems to him to be that the day of Jesus' resurrection succeeded to the ancient Saturday-Sabbath as a day guarded by divine sanctions. It may be said that Dr. Parker's translation, though defensible as permissible, is rather precarious. Assent to the divine authority claimed for the " transfer " may reasonably require surer ground than two words in a narrative of unknown authorship and considerably later date than the event. As an argument with Sabbatarian Christians who still adhere to a Saturday observance Dr. Parker's reasoning may have some weight, and he applies it to them, saying that " Sabbatarianism is founded on a false translation." Not so; the quicksand underlying all Sabbatarian translations, true or false, is the fallacious notion of literalists generally, that the religious spirit is not in free control of all religious forms and ordinances.

Story of Alchemy and the Beginnings of Chemistry (The). By M. M. Pattison Muir, M.A. Illustrated. D. Appleton & Co., New York. 4×6 in. 185 pages. 35c., net.

This is an interesting story of the unscientific gropings which turned ultimately into the path of science, through that futile pursuit of the impracticable which, as experience often illustrates, leads the blind in a way they know not to substantial good. The world owes much to human illusions such as the alchemical view of nature. But when Mr. Muir tells us that this view still forms the fallacious basis of systems of ethics, philosophy, and art, those who know most about these may wonder how much he knows.

School in the Home (The): A Study of the Debt Parents Owe Their Children. By Newell Dwight Hillis. The Fleming H. Revell Co., New York. 5×7¾ in. 126 pages. 50c., net.

The earliest, the most effective, yet the most neglected school in the world is the subject of a short essay to which Dr. Hillis here appends a selection of Scripture and hymns. The essay on the debt of parents to children is admirable, but the selection of hymns is faulty. In general, hymns for children to commit to memory should be free from the shibboleths of theological controversy. This principle rules out, to one's regret, Bishop Heber's otherwise admirable hymn for its dogmatic line,

> "God in Three Persons, blessed Trinity."

Even Calvin objected to this phrase; why then teach it to children? Other examples of equally objectionable theologizing occur in Dr. Hillis's selection, and limit its serviceableness.

Second Bank of the United States (The). By Ralph C. H. Catterall. (The Decennial Publications. Second Series. Vol. II.) The University of Chicago Press, Chicago. 6×9 in. 538 pages.

Story of Good Will Farm (The). By G. W. Hinckley. Illustrated. The Good Will Publishing Co., East Fairfield, Me. 5×6¾ in. 139 pages. 75c.

Story of Oratorio (The). By Annie W. Patterson. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 5×7½ in. 241 pages. $1.25, net.

Devotion to oratorio is almost distinctively British. Even the German works in this form of music have their chief vogue in England. The later development of oratorio has become merged into the rise of the cantata, which has been especially fostered by respectable but not especially inspired British composers. The theme of this book will appeal, therefore, to an element in the "musical public" which is somewhat limited, and to a considerable degree distinct, in this country at least, from the great body of lovers of pure music. The volume is a product of conscientious work and genuine enthusiasm. It is well supplied with appendices and an index. It is a useful book of reference.

Story of the Trapper (The). By A. C. Laut. Illustrated. D. Appleton & Co., New York. 5×7¾ in. 284 pages. $1.25, net. (Postage, 12c.)

Miss Laut's former books about the frozen North have been fictitious in form, and have attracted comment by their vivid picturesqueness. Now she reconstructs for us the personality and tells of the wanderings of the trapper, who as a pioneer preceded the explorers of the West. She writes with animation and imaginative power—sometimes, indeed, one wishes that the imagination were restrained a little so as to make a better balance between plain fact and brilliant writing. All in all, it is a fine adventurous figure, this of the bold, wild master of woodcraft, who seems to love hardship and danger even more than he loves gain. The French or Indian trapper, the man who works for the Hudson's Bay Company or for his own hand, the seeker for otter, or beaver, or mink, or even buffalo—each has his traditions, his methods, and his peculiar points of interest. The book is in a way unique, and it is certainly readable.

Tarr and McMurry Geographies. Pennsylvania. Supplementary Volume. Illustrated. By William Rupert, C.E. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5½×7½ in. 101 pages.

Theology's Eminent Domain and Other Papers. By William Reed Huntington, D.D. Thomas Whittaker, New York. 5×7½ in. 129 pages. 25c.

Unpopular Papers. By Norman Alliston. George Allen, Charing Cross Road, London. 4¼×7 in. 201 pages.

Correspondence

The Study of Live Birds

To the Editors of The Outlook:

One of the results of a recent article published in your valuable periodical, entitled "A Talk on Birds," has been the opening of a correspondence between many of your readers and myself. These letters have come from all parts of the country, and from beyond its borders. They have given me much pleasure and information, and I wish publicly to express my obligation to the many writers. Not a few of these have visited my laboratory to see some of the sources of such inspiration as I talked of, and it has occurred to me that others might care to pay a call on these friends in feathers. Will you, therefore, extend such an invitation from me in your columns? I am at home for such visits always on Saturdays, and shall be glad to welcome those who wish to know more of the birds and the work they are doing.

W. E. D. SCOTT.

Laboratory for the Study of Live Birds,
341 Nassau Street, Princeton, N. J.

[We are sure that bird-lovers and readers generally will also be interested to know that the full narrative of Professor Scott's experiences and adventures as a naturalist and traveler will soon be published by the Outlook Company under the title "The Story of a Bird-Lover."—THE EDITORS.]

"The Possibilities of Peat"

To the Editors of The Outlook:

While waiting communications which will give fuller answers to the many interesting letters called out by my article in The Outlook of January 17, it will allay curiosity to know that the firm making pressed peat is a Canadian house, and that $1.75 a ton is a liberal estimate of the cost of production. The royalties are probably the rent of bogs leased for taking out peat by Government or private owners. Canadian and foreign enterprise quite excels American in the matter of using peat. Beyond two or three small local firms and one supplying florists with common air-dried peat, I am yet unable to name any sources which furnish it. A few well-to-do families import Scotch peat for house use, but do not seem too willing to give any information on the subject. I should be glad to learn the addresses of any firms working in peat or peat machinery, here or abroad, as early as possible.

No subjects appear to be so little understood as the practical economy of fuels, and peat in particular. The Consuls of four countries applied to this month knew nothing of the excellent enterprise of manufacturers and scientific men in regard to peat in their own countries. Still, relentless perseverance will unearth the information wanted for immediate use—namely, firms here or abroad that will supply peat to burn and peat for interested manufacturers to examine. Inquirers may be sure their letters are welcome and will all receive attention. Experience dictates care in securing correct addresses to be used by fifty to a hundred eager correspondents, as well as the ability of firms to deal with such a serious addition to their regular work. I once forwarded about three hundred letters of inquiry for a new product to a manufacturer's agent in one of our large cities, to learn six weeks after that he grew tired of trying to answer them and burnt the whole batch without reply. The rest of the inquiries, many times the first installment, were sent to the manufacturer himself, who was interested enough to take care of them as they should be cared for. I will say again that correspondence on the subject of peat is entirely acceptable.

To many questions, it is enough to say $1.75 is a liberal estimate of the cost of making pressed peat, not the selling price.

S. POWER.

37 West Nineteenth Street, New York City.

The Church and Young Men

In connection with the department of Sociology at the University of Chicago, a special investigation is being made of religious work on behalf of young men. The results are to be published in book form, and in order that the volume may be comprehensive and of real service, facts and suggestions from pastors, superintendents, and other church workers will be welcomed. Information as to books and magazine or newspaper articles bearing upon the subject is also desired. Any measure of co-operation will be much appreciated.

F. G. CRESSEY.